

IN THESE TIMES

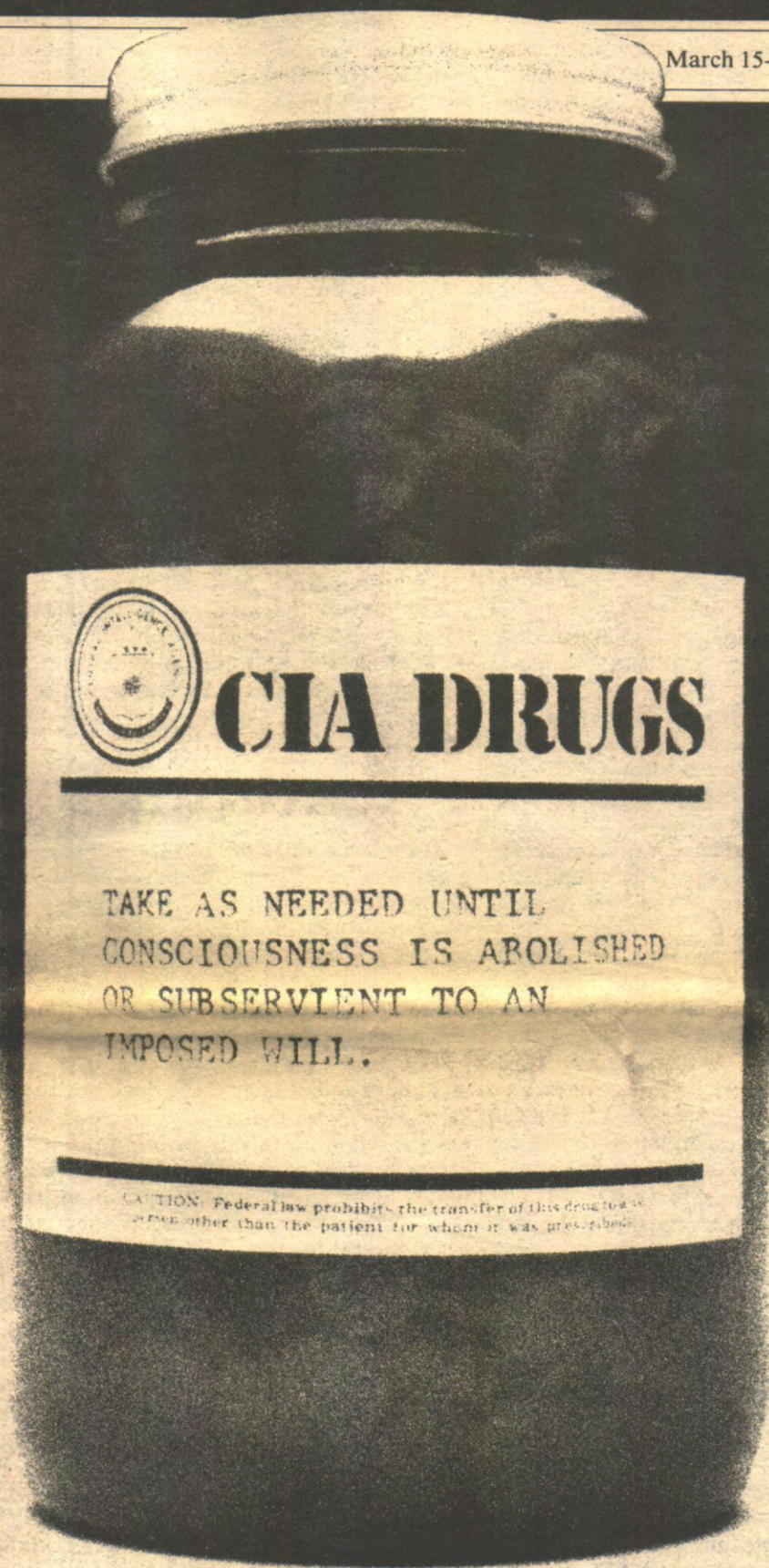
The Miners
Hold Out



Vol. 2, No. 17

March 15-21, 1978

50 Cents



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THE INSIDE STORY

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Carter against the miners

Jimmy Carter and Arnold Miller are this year's odd couple. Under pressure, Carter cultivates an air of bureaucratic authority, appropriate for a peacetime submarine commander or a Georgia governor, but highly inappropriate, and even ludicrous, for a President attempting to rally public support.

Miller hasn't suppressed his passion; he has had it drained from him. Sick, weary, monosyllabic, he offers a stark contrast to the young angry miners who have burned up the contract he negotiated, and who are now vowing to defy Carter's Taft-Hartley back-to-work order.

Miller and Carter—the one unwittingly, the other by design—have played into the mine operators' hands, and have left the miners no recourse but a frontal assault against the Taft-Hartley law.

Company threats.

The coal operators approached the Dec. 6 contract deadline determined to use the strike to exact concessions from the United Mine Workers. "We'll give this relationship one more chance," a mine official ominously told *Business Week*, "but if we don't get labor peace this time around, the UMW could be in jeopardy in some places."

With huge reserves and Western minefields still in operation, the companies knew they could wait out a three or fourth month strike.

Miller knew he was bargaining from weakness, but instead of seeking to dramatize the miners' plight, he accepted first one contract and then another that were weaker than the 1974 contract and that ignored basic demands of the miners on the right to strike, health, safety and pensions.

Miller's actions threatened to discredit his own leadership and to make the miners look unduly intransigent and greedy. After the first contract rejection, his leadership was discredited. Now, with power reductions and

layoffs on the agenda, the companies may finally succeed in turning the public against the miners.

Companies set the terms.

Carter left the earlier phases of government intervention up to Labor Secretary Ray Marshall, who has proved labor's best friend in the administration. Marshall and Carter held out for a negotiated settlement, and when that seemed impossible, threatened to seize the mines, which the UMW favored.

When the government seizes the mines, it signs a contract with the union, and this contract then acquires some legitimacy in company-union negotiations. Historically, unions have found the government easier to bargain with than the companies. The UMW first won its health and pension plans when the government agreed to them in 1946 after it seized the mines.

But in the negotiations Marshall and Carter were operating within a context set by the mine companies. Even when they intervened on what seemed to them the "union's side," it was on company terms. When they pressured the independent P&M company into signing a contract with the UMW, the contract ignored 65 percent rather than 80 percent of key miner demands.

The stage was set for a situation in which the miners would "betray" Carter, and he would have to resort to Taft-Hartley rather than seizure.

When Robert Strauss used his muscle as Carter's trade negotiator to get the steel companies that were also mine owners to recommend the P&M settlement as a model for a BCOA-UMW settlement, it was as if the administration, from their standpoint, had done all they could for the miners, and it was now up to the miners to reciprocate by accepting the "generous" contract. "This agreement serves the national interest, as well as your own interest and those of your families," Carter told miners.

Enter Taft-Hartley.

When reports of contract negotiations began to filter in, Carter opted for Taft-Hartley, a measure that has a bitter history for miners.

Prior to the passage of the Norris-LaGuardia and Wagner Acts in the 1930s, injunctions had been the standard way for employers to break strikes. Without the use of injunctions, employers were handicapped in combatting the union organizing advances in the '30s.

After World War II, in reaction to the great strike wave of 1946, in which the miners played a prominent part, a Republican Congress passed the Taft-Hartley law over President Truman's veto.

In addition to allowing states to ban the "union shop" and requiring anti-Communist oaths of union officials, Taft-Hartley brought the injunction back into labor disputes, only this time as a weapon of the federal government and not of the companies. If a strike threatened the "national interest," the federal government could seek an 80-day back-to-work order. During the first 60 days, the employer and the union were free to negotiate, and if no agreement was reached, the workers were to vote on the employers' last offer. If they turned it down, they could go back on strike at the end of 80 days.

The effect of such a "cooling off" period on a strike could be disastrous. The success of a strike depends on threatening a company's "interest." With nationwide industries like coal or steel, or with the post office or railroads, the line between a threat to the company's interest and the national interest can be thin.

The miners' defiance.

The UMW led the attack against the Taft-Hartley Law. UMW leader John L. Lewis described it as that "despotic, damnable, reprehensible, unwholesome, vicious slave statute." Lewis withdrew from the AFL when it

wouldn't fight the anti-Communist oath, and in the 1948 elections, the UMW helped defeat 41 congressmen and six senators in UMW areas who had voted for Taft-Hartley. When Taft-Hartley injunctions were used against the UMW in 1948 and 1950, they defied both.

But while the miners defied the injunctions, they nevertheless had an effect. For instance, in 1948 Lewis sought a quick "tentative" solution to the miners' strike after the injunction had been handed down. The solution, which eventually unravelled, was even less favorable to the union than a previous company offer.

Carter's strategy.

In 1978, the use of Taft-Hartley can cripple the miners' cause even if there is widespread defiance of its provisions.

As Carter economic advisor Charles Schultze acknowledged on NBC's *Meet the Press*, Carter expects many miners initially to defy the injunction. But its effect "doesn't have to be universal to deal with the problem," Schultze explained. If only 10 percent of the miners return to work, and if state and federal forces can prevent the miners from keeping the non-union mines closed, then the country will have enough coal to ease into the summer, when demand drops significantly.

Carter and Schultze expect that the 10 percent who go back to work will come from locals that voted to ratify the last contract offer. By declaring the bargaining an "impasse," Carter has paved the way for companies to seek separate settlements with these union locals.

The situation of the miners that remain out of work will deteriorate. They are denied food stamps and welfare under Taft-Hartley. Fines will bankrupt the union. And after 80 days, if no contract is signed, it will be summer, and the bargaining position of the workers will further decline.

It is a strategy aimed at breaking the union.

The miners' hope of securing an equitable contract now rests with their ability to obstruct Taft-Hartley. If they can keep the non-union mines shut and prevent locals from signing separate contracts, Carter will have to seize the mines.

Further fallout

The miners' strike has already had repercussions that may extend well beyond the miners and their companies. Democratic senators, who were wavering on labor law reform, are now threatening to vote against it. And the natural gas and oil lobbies have gained new life from coal's travails and are demanding new concessions from House-Senate energy conferees.

But perhaps the most unwelcome impact of the strike will be on the nuclear power controversy. Energy analysts have understood that Carter's energy plan depended ultimately on the greatly expanded use of nuclear energy. But in the face of environmentalist opposition, Carter has had to remain, in the *Wall Street Journal's* phrase a "closet advocate of nuclear power."

In August, the administration announced it would ask Congress to pass a bill that would speed up the licensing of nuclear reactors. But when the outcry spread to Carter's own Council on Environmental Quality, he and his bionic Energy Secretary temporarily withdrew the proposal.

With coal in trouble, however, Schlesinger announced on CBS' *Face The Nation* that the administration would be reintroducing the proposal. And he got support from Senate Energy Committee head Henry M. Jackson: "I do not suggest we abandon coal," Jackson told *U.S. News and World Report*, "but we are going through a shakedown period in which serious attention needs to be given to the nuclear option."

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Big changes in Big Coal

By Dan Marshall

IN CONTRACT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN labor and management industry associations ordinarily appear as a powerful bloc of companies with everything going for them—wealth, property, public relations, political clout and legal rights. In the current coal strike, however, that appearance has been shattered both by the determination of the United Mine Workers' members to hold out for a decent contract and by growing divisions between corporate representatives within the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA).

The coal industry in the last 30 years has been wracked by changing ownership patterns, major technological innovations, geographic expansion and several decades of slumping demand. These developments have left the industry ill-equipped to increase total coal production at the rate required by President Carter's national energy program. The industry's recent history may also culminate in the dissolution of the BCOA, a situation that would add more chaos to coalfield labor relations by ripping apart the fabric of national bargaining.

Lewis-Love deal in 1950.

To understand the industry side of the ongoing coal strike a fruitful place to begin is 1950, when the first nationwide coal contract was negotiated between UMW President John L. Lewis and George Love, the chairman of Consolidation Coal, then the country's largest producer.

The Lewis-Love deal followed a decade of coalfield turmoil. Miners had conducted a series of nationwide strikes—including a walkout of 200,000 miners protesting the Taft-Hartley Act—and the Truman administration had seized the mines five times.

In 1950, after President Truman realized that one particularly paralyzing strike had cut the nation's coal supply to two weeks, he again approached Congress for seizure authorization. Determined to avoid another government incursion into their industry, union and operators signed the National Bituminous Coal Wage Agreement.

The new contract radically altered the bargaining structure of an industry long known for thousands of fly-by-night operators, chaotic market conditions and chronic oversupply. Previously the union had negotiated with three groups of operators: the Northern Coal Operators, the Southern Coal Producers, and the "captive" mines, those owned outright by steel companies to provide coking coal. Afterwards, the UMW was to confront the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, an alliance between the northern operators and the steel companies engineered by Love.

"What George Love did in the coal business was not only to restore a series of sick companies to sound health and profitability, but by force of his example to lead a whole ailing and archaic industry into the light of modern ways," gushed *Fortune* in 1962 in describing Love's construction of the "Consol" empire.

Love was one of the first to mechanize his mines completely and concentrate on coal preparation to fit his product more precisely to the users' needs. By 1950 Consol was producing 15.5 million tons of coal annually, the highest amount for a single company. In the new BCOA, where voting strength was based on tonnage, Love and Harry Moses, who represented U.S. Steel, clearly ruled the kingdom of coal.

Though the national agreement augmented the UMW's power, it also allowed industry titans to squeeze out small coal producers, thereby increasing industry concentration, and to rapidly mechanize their mining operations. Miners were thrown out of work by the widespread use of the continuous mining machine and other devices.

At the same time, coal markets were being eaten up by oil and natural gas, and



Changes in coal ownership, technology and forms of mining have profoundly influenced the orientation and policy of the coal companies and the future of the UMW.

coal demand was plummeting. Between 1948 and 1959, the industry's average number of production workers declined from 411,000 to 150,000.

Mechanization welcomed.

Despite the loss in union membership and the blanket of unemployment that soon shrouded the Appalachian states, John L. Lewis viewed mechanization and the elimination of small companies as positive developments. It brought a measure of stability, uniform working conditions and hefty wages to an industry fraught with periodic collapses.

The smaller coal operators, Lewis declared, "are just a drag on the industry. The constant tendency in this country is going to be for concentration of production into fewer and fewer units... more of the obsolete units will fall by the board and go out of production."

Love and other big-time coal producers

heartily agreed. The largest mining corporations increased their share of the industry's assets. In 1947 corporations with assets of more than \$50 million controlled 16 percent of the industry's total. A decade later they held 42 percent. The smallest corporations, meanwhile, lost ground.

The 1950 contract also seemed to guarantee labor peace. "The country is now freed from any thought of a so-called coal crisis for an indefinite period of time," Lewis assured. In behind-the-scenes talks Lewis and the BCOA negotiated and signed successive contracts in 1952, 1955, 1956 and 1958.

As the union hobbled into the 1960s, however, rough weather began to shake the house that Lewis and Love built. Lewis retired in 1959, handing the union to Thomas Kennedy, his loyal vice-president, and then to W.A. "Tony" Boyle, who failed to elicit the highest respect

from union members. A wildcat strike movement soon grew in opposition to his policies and the deterioration in working conditions. (*JTT*, March 1.)

Coal industrialists, at the same time, were buffeted by other factors: the growth of strip-mining and the appetites of oil companies on their way to becoming energy conglomerates.

In 1963 Gulf Oil Corp. purchased Pittsburgh & Midway, a coal producing company with substantial coal reserves. Independent of the BCOA, P&M is now the industry's 15th largest producer. (An agreement between the UMW and P&M, which employs about 800 union members, was used as the model for the industry-wide pact recently rejected by the rank and file.)

The P&M purchase, which seemed inconsequential at the time, was only the beginning of a trend. In 1966 Continental

Continued on page 4.

Carter takes tough line to end strike

By Dan Marshall

IN A DESPERATE ATTEMPT TO break the nationwide coal strike, now moving into its third month, President Carter has launched federal actions that may have disastrous, long-term consequences for the viability of the United Mine Workers union and the stability of coalfield labor relations.

On March 6, after rank and file miners rejected a second tentative contract by more than a two-to-one margin, Carter invoked the Taft-Hartley Act. This move is designed to placate political pressures coming from the governors of coal-dependent states, which face massive layoffs and electricity cutbacks as the strike continues, and to force the miners back to work for an 80-day "cooling off" period. Observers predict that the vast majority of union members will defy Carter's order.

As *IN THESE TIMES* goes to press, the administration has obtained a temporary restraining order naming over 1,400 union locals, districts and coal companies as defendants. Another hearing has been scheduled for March 17 to determine whether the order should be extended for the full 80 days. The injunction is expect-

ed to hold union officers and their local treasuries responsible for the miners' compliance.

In his March 6 statement Carter also said that a "total breakdown of the collective bargaining process" has created an "impasse" in negotiations between the UMW and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). His declaration of an "impasse" has definite legal implications. Four federal appeals courts have ruled that multi-employer bargaining groups may break up and bargain separately when an impasse exists.

Carter's action thus encourages individual companies to "peel off" from the BCOA and arrive at separate contracts with UMW locals or districts, a situation that could mean the end of national bargaining in the coal industry and an abrupt decline in the economic clout of the UMW.

Although bargaining has resumed between the two sides, press reports indicate that the nation's largest coal company, Peabody Coal, is "seriously considering" a breakaway. The chairman of Peabody has reportedly asked other major producers to do the same.

The Carter administration, according to sources contacted by NBC News, is now carrying out a four-part strategy to

end the strike by directing various pressures on the striking miners. The White House first intends to persuade individual companies to reach settlements with locals that approved the last contract proposal, thereby getting some coal moving and setting a national contract pattern.

Second, Carter hopes to reopen non-union mines that have been shut by strikers. Governors will be asked to provide protection and federal marshalls will be used if needed.

Third, the government will cut off food stamps to the families of miners who defy the Taft-Hartley injunction, hoping that the miners will find it futile to hold out as warmer weather approaches.

Finally, as a last resort, the administration will ask Congress for authority to seize the mines. Carter has repeatedly downplayed this option because it is strongly opposed by coal operators and of questionable legality. Union leaders and many members, on the other hand, say that in the absence of a contract, they will return to work only under federal seizure.

Observers say that seizure is the only way to start immediate coal production. If some miners do return under Taft-Hartley, mine owners expect various prob-

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Support grows for miners

By David Moberg

AS THE COAL STRIKE GRINDS on, moving into the political arena with Carter's intervention and public concern about the strike's impact and threatened layoffs in steel and other industries, support for the mineworkers takes on greater importance. During the first months of the strike public demonstrations of sympathy for the miners were even less obvious than in their last nationwide strike. Within the last month, however, there has been a dramatic increase in donations of money and food to the strikers and in public expressions of solidarity.

Carter's invocation of the Taft-Hartley injunction triggered greater interest in defending the mineworkers, who were thrust by most of the mass media into the "bad guy" role of "holding the nation hostage" by their continuing refusal to accept a contract that retreats from existing standards on health care, mine safety and the right to strike.

United Auto Workers president Douglas Fraser's announcement on March 7 of a \$2 million gift to the mineworkers' relief fund has been by far the most forceful gesture, a reminder of the crucial assistance that the UMW gave in the 1930s to form the UAW, the Steelworkers and the CIO as a whole. "We haven't forgotten that," Fraser said. "Many of the retirees in the coalfields who have gone without pensions and health care benefits for several months are the same coal miners who supported the UAW 40 years ago."

On the same day 150 farmers participating in the American Agricultural Movement strike distributed truckloads of food to miners in Central City, Ky., in a symbolically important move. "We want to let the miners know we're behind them and we appreciate the work they do," John Stewart, a participating farmer, told reporters.

The message has got through to the coal miners, who traditionally assume that they have no one to rely on but themselves. "There's a growing feeling that we got a lot of friends with this farmer thing, the UAW gift," says Joe Mulloy, 34, a miner for the past five years who has helped start a Miners Free Clinic in Beckley, W.Va., to provide health care to 200 people a week during the strike. "People got a lot of relatives in Chicago and other places, and they keep in touch. It seems like the average guy may be threatened with a layoff, but he still supports the miners. It will make a real difference if support builds up this week."

Most union leaders, if they have made any comment, have echoed Fraser's criticism of the Taft-Hartley injunction and preference for federal seizure of the mines if coal operators will not settle on acceptable terms. AFL-CIO president George



Farmers associated with the American Agricultural Movement who have been on "strike" for higher prices showed their solidarity with striking miners March 7 by distributing truckloads of food to miners in Central City, Ky.

Meany, at the AFL-CIO mid-winter Executive Council meeting, told reporters that he wouldn't applaud the President for using the Taft-Hartley injunction, but he wouldn't condemn him either. AFL-CIO community services department offices have helped miners, but the national body has otherwise done little beyond expressing support. Some observers speculate that AFL-CIO leaders may be reluctant to wholeheartedly back the militant miners for fear of jeopardizing the labor reform bill coming before the Senate soon.

With no national coordination for support work, ad hoc committees—based predominantly on local unions—have sprouted up around the country:

- UAW Local 22, representing 10,000 Cadillac workers in Detroit, sent a convoy of 60 trucks and vans filled with food and clothes gathered, along with \$4,000, in plant gate collections to strikes in West Virginia on Feb. 25. Local staff worker Paul Milne says, "The kind of unity between workers in this plant and miners down there is something incredible. The people felt it was their fight, too, and that the miners deserved everything they were asking. If coal operators broke the UMW, they thought GM and Ford would take on the UAW next. Besides, there are lots of family ties." Other UAW locals are preparing food convoys and raising money, including \$8,000 from Local 15. After Fraser's announcement of the \$2

million gift, Milne said, auto workers in the union hall said "they feel proud to be part of the UAW."

- On their first pay day after over four months on strike, iron ore miners at U.S. Steel's Minntac mine sent \$1,000 from their paychecks.

- In Pittsburgh steelworkers joined with coal miners from the nearby area in a 1,500-person rally on Jan. 29 featuring UMW president Arnold Miller and country singer Johnny ("Take This Job and Shove It") Paycheck. Representatives of the state social workers union, the Steelworkers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, postal workers and the United Transportation Union have joined in sponsoring rallies, demonstrations and press conferences. The United Electrical workers (UE) delivered a caravan of food, clothing and money to an "adopted" UMW local.

- In the Boston area a broad coalition of labor unions and community groups sponsored a rally on March 12.

- The Baltimore, Md., central council of the AFL-CIO rallied 1,000 workers to back the miners on March 5.

- Over 1,500 people, contributing \$7,000 to three UMW district relief funds and the Beckley free clinic, heard Pete Seeger sing and coal miners explain their demands at a March 1 rally in New York City.

- In San Francisco, leaders from the Longshoremen, Department Store Clerks, building trades groups, UAW, Transport

Workers, Teamsters, Central Labor Council and other unions expressed their "solidarity and complete support" for the miners and opposition to the use of the Taft-Hartley injunction before a crowd of 1,000 in the Plumbers' Union Hall.

- Combating the extensive publicity by Ohio electric utilities against the coal strike, a coalition of 36 utility reform groups, union leaders, progressive legislators and community groups declared that "as consumers and workers, we are today serving notice on the coal operators—and particularly Columbus & Southern Ohio Electric, Ohio Power and Sohio—that we are not buying their game of playing public fears of black-outs against the legitimate claims of the miners."

Throughout the country, editorialists and, implicitly, most news reports, blamed the coal miners for disrupting the economy and threatening energy supplies rather than the coal operators, whose hard-line bargaining to reverse previous UMW achievements provoked the lengthy strike. Yet in almost all reports there was a grudging admission that coal mining is hard, dirty and dangerous work and that miner demands were perhaps not so outrageous under such conditions.

Support for miners from the rest of the labor movement and from other groups could prove critical in shaping that elusive chimera, "public opinion," in coming weeks if miners, as expected, resist Carter's back to work order.

Big coal

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Oil bought out the giant of the eastern coal industry, Consolidation Coal. In 1968 Occidental Petroleum took over Island Creek Coal, while Standard Oil of Ohio bought out Old Ben Coal, now the eleventh largest producer. In these same years Kennecott Copper, General Dynamics and American Metal Climax grabbed coal companies of their own.

When the dust settled outside interests controlled 11 of the 15 largest coal companies. "Through their own production and acting as brokers for smaller companies' coal, 13 of these 15 companies controlled more than 60 percent of U.S. coal sales," the UMW concluded in a 1973 study.

The rise of stripping.

Strip-mining, which brought dramatic productivity increases by using fewer min-

ers to operate heavy equipment, also caught on fast. In 1960 surface mining accounted for about 32 percent of total coal production. In 1976 its share increased to 56 percent.

The present configuration of the coal industry is suggested by a close look at the top four producers:

- Peabody Coal, which is owned by Kennecott Copper and a consortium of other companies, is the industry leader. It produced 70.5 million tons last year. In 1955 Peabody decided to close its underground mines and turn to stripping, a move that enabled them to triple their sales by 1969. Thirty-one of their 40 operations are strip mines. In the highly lucrative southwestern market Peabody and Utah International control 88 percent of the output.

- Consolidation Coal, owned by Continental Oil, has dropped to second place in production but still leads the industry in revenue and number of employees. It is also the number one holder of coal reserves—14 billion tons by 1975.

- AMAX Coal, which is 20 percent

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Tough line

Continued from page 3.

lems that would crimp coal production. Skilled miners, for instance, would be reluctant to shift from job to job. "Having been forced back into the mines against their will, there's bound to be a lot of sabotage. They could get away with murder underground," one coal executive told the *Wall Street Journal*.

The miners' position has been somewhat weakened by recent reports that coal supplies have "stabilized." On March 7 experts at the Department of Energy told NBC News that utilities were reporting an average coal supply of 65 days, an increase over their previous reports. This jump reflects the conservation of electricity in many states, the conversion from coal to oil or nuclear powered generators, the purchase of electricity from other areas, and the increasing movement of coal. Based on this improve-

ment, Carter reportedly believes that the power crisis will be substantially alleviated if 15-20 percent of the miners return to work.

The rejection of the contract came as a surprise to most observers, who predicted its narrow passage. Miners apparently were most dissatisfied with the health benefit provisions, which would compel them to pay high deductibles on medical care, and with the continued inequity of pension payments. Since health care was free under the 1974 contract, many saw this agreement as a step backwards.

Even the giant of the business press, the *Wall Street Journal*, remarked that "we'd have voted against the proposed contract too." In an editorial, the *Journal* pointed out that the contract's "generous" wage increase would be severely cut by health and pension provisions that would increase the government's share of miners' incomes through taxes.

"The idea that this breakdown has occurred because of an excess of union democracy is absurd," the editorial says. "The miners have a point. But nobody seems to listen to them."

IN THE NATION

Alix Stockwood

GAY RIGHTS

A gay rights bill for New York City

By Josh Martin

NEW YORK

REVERSING PREVIOUS STRATEGY, leaders of this city's gay community have decided to push for prompt introduction of a gay rights bill in the City Council, despite the risk of a Dade County-like referendum appearing on the November ballot.

"We want the bill introduced at the best time which will assure its passage, and assure that if there is a referendum, that referendum will be beaten," a member of the National Gay Task Force explained.

In New York State a referendum may be placed on the ballot concerning legislation introduced no later than 120 days before scheduled elections. Thus, while there is considerable support for the passage of a gay rights bill in New York City this year, supporters originally wanted to delay introduction until this summer to avoid the conservative threat to force a referendum that might harm New York State and national gay rights movements.

Jean O'Leary, co-executive director of the National Gay Task Force, believes that a referendum would make New York City's gay rights bill "an issue that all races would have to deal with," having an adverse effect on the gay rights movement. "It's kind of a proven thing that minorities don't win referendums."

Even under optimum conditions, without the threat of a referendum, a considerable amount of time and energy will have to be spent mustering the political support and unity needed to assure passage of a gay rights bill. "We want to have a coalition ready," says O'Leary, "a very strong alliance of both gay and non-gay support."

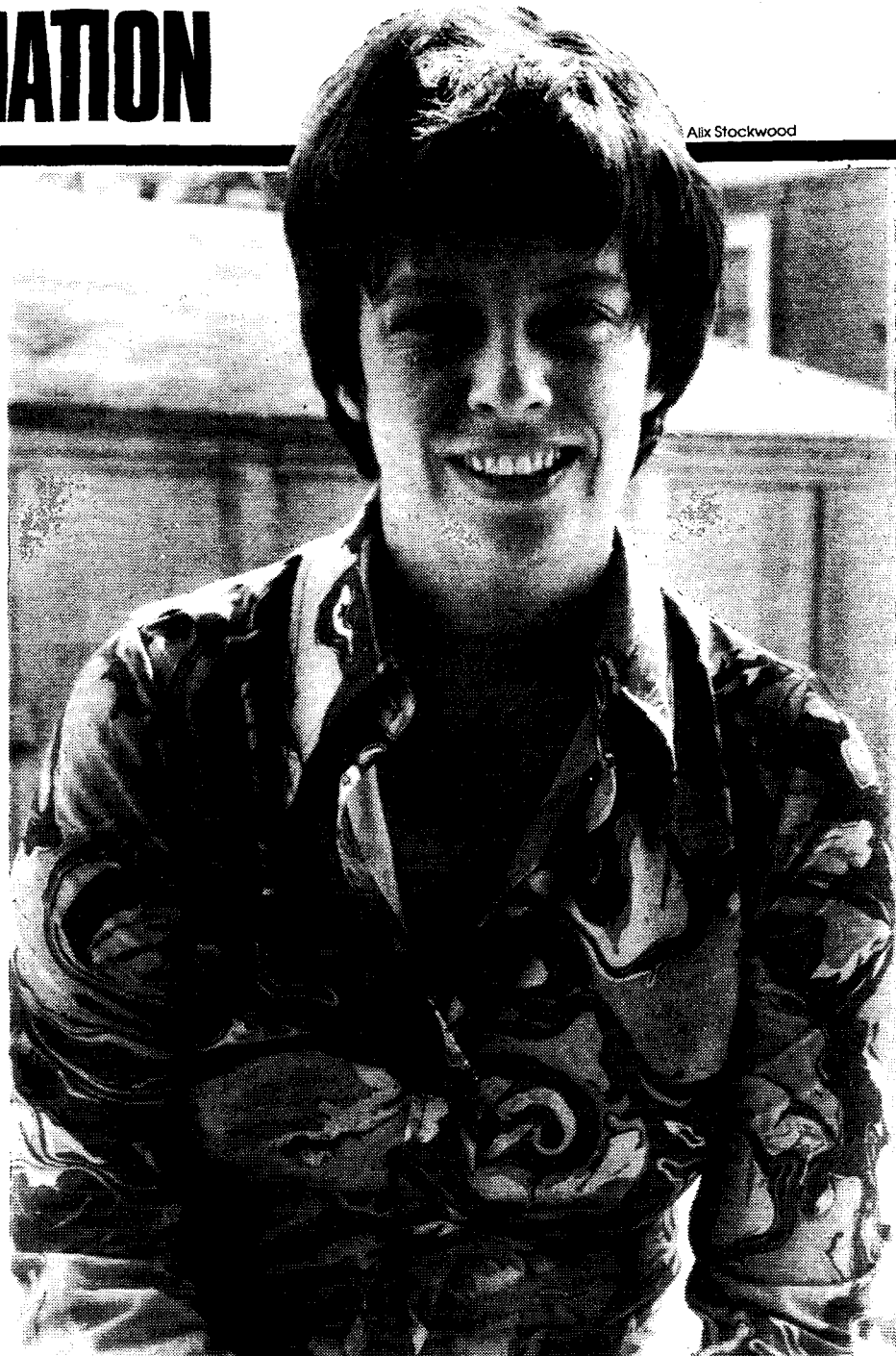
Gay rights legislation was introduced in the New York City Council in 1971 and 1974, only to be defeated by conservative Democrats who controlled the Council and City Hall. Passage appears more likely this year, as both Mayor Ed Koch and City Council president Carol Bellamy are known to support such a bill.

Informed sources say that there will be "no major changes" between legislation to be introduced in the City Council in 1978 and the earlier bills. "There are some changes in the wording," says Councilman Henry Stern, a possible sponsor of the gay rights legislation, "but it's the same principle."

If a vote were held tomorrow, Stern estimates that at least 19 of the 43 councilmembers would support a gay rights bill (14 are already lined up as sponsors). However, 22 votes are needed to pass it, and the three votes being sought will probably be the most difficult to obtain. "The problem you have to deal with is fear," says Stern, who anticipates a "very tough" floor fight, even though the legislation has city hall support.

The fact that there is considerable opposition puzzles some observers familiar with New York City's liberal image. "New York is like a lot of other cities," explains Bob Livingston, of the New York Political Action Council. "It's liberal in some things and not liberal in others. It is a city of 92 ethnic minorities, and some of these people come from very conservative backgrounds."

Yet the gay population itself constitutes a sizeable minority. Estimates of its size range between five and 15 percent of the population, with a slightly higher percentage in Manhattan. Jean O'Leary believes that "at least" 10 percent of the city's population is gay, and if accurate figures were available, "people would be



Jean O'Leary (above), co-executive director of the National Gay Task Force, believes that a referendum on a gay rights bill could have a very adverse effect on the gay rights movement.

shocked."

Because they have become a politically active minority, the gay vote is cultivated in local elections. However, this is not to equate the situation in New York City with the more tolerant atmosphere of, say, San Francisco. "There's no comparison," says O'Leary. "If you wanted to compare Manhattan and San Francisco, you could. But when you talk about New York City you talk about Queens, Brooklyn and Staten Island—we're talking about a whole different ball game."

New York's gays want the government to give them the same rights under city law, in jobs, housing and public accommodation, as have been given to other minorities. "We live in an age of disintegration, in which every segment of the society seems to be scrambling for its own piece of the pie," observes Livingston. "If gay people are not included, they are by omission excluded. They must be included."

Josh Martin is a New York free-lance writer.

NUCLEAR POWER

No Wisconsin nuke for Minnesota company

By Thomas Galazen

NUCLEAR OPPONENTS IN WISCONSIN recently achieved a significant victory in their bid to prevent construction of a nuclear plant by invoking a law passed during the state's Progressive Era that bars out-of-state corporations from building or operating electrical facilities.

A milestone ruling issued by the Wisconsin Public Service Commission (PSC) in late February held that Northern States Power Company Minnesota and Cooperative Power Association of Minnesota, as out-of-state corporations, cannot be granted permits to build the Tyrone nuclear plant, proposed for a site in western Wisconsin, about 20 miles from Eau Claire. Construction of the unit was scheduled to begin in April of 1978.

The action by the PSC came in response to a petition brought by Northern Thunder, a northwestern Wisconsin group working on issues relating to the human environment. Northern Thunder based its request upon a 1907 law providing that "No license, permit or franchise to own, operate, manage or control any plant or equipment for the production, transmission, delivery or furnishing of heat, light, water or power shall be granted or trans-

ferred to a foreign [out of state] corporation."

NSP-Minnesota, a large mid-western utility, planned to own 31 percent of the 1,100 megawatt Tyrone unit, while its wholly-owned subsidiary, NSP-Wisconsin, would own another 36 percent. Cooperative Power Association, a Minnesota utility, would own another 17 percent, with the remaining portion divided between two Wisconsin utilities.

An agreement among the five utilities assigns NSP-Minnesota essentially full control over the proposed plant with "plenary power, discretion, and authority in all respects and every detail relating to the Project Work."

Attorneys for Northern States unsuccessfully sought to avoid application of the statute by arguing to the Public Service Commission that NSP-Minnesota is not a Wisconsin public utility because "it does not offer to sell power to the Wisconsin public at large."

Even assuming NSP-Minnesota is a public utility, the company's lawyers maintained, "it need not necessarily secure any certificates of public convenience and necessity from the PSC of Wisconsin." Finally, NSP argued the statute was unconstitutional.

"In effect," Northern Thunder attorney Richard Ihrig said in summarizing the

utility's arguments, "NSP-Minnesota is saying that if it were the only entity involved in the proposed plant, it could construct, own and operate the plant without so much as giving the Public Service Commission prior notification."

In its ruling the PSC agreed with Northern Thunder's interpretation, saying that "the relevant criterion is not whether NSP-Minnesota provides service to the Wisconsin public, but NSP-Minnesota will own, operate, manage and control a plant which serves the Wisconsin public."

While stating its belief that the 1907 law does not amount to unlawful restraint on interstate commerce, the Commission concluded that issue was beyond its jurisdiction, since "it amounts to an administrative agency's sitting judgment on the constitutionality of its own enabling statutes, which is an unlawful confusion of the separate powers of government."

Nuclear opponents believe the 1907 law is as necessary today as when it was adopted decades ago. "The prohibition of foreign public utilities," says Ihrig, "is a critical element in the scheme by which the State of Wisconsin regulates public utilities." Its purpose, he says, "is to promote effective regulation, since only corporations owing their existence to Wisconsin law are fully amenable to regulation" by Wisconsin agencies.

Nevertheless, the utilities involved in the Tyrone plant are expected to move quickly to circumvent the PSC ruling and the intent of the law by filing a court challenge or attempting to submit an amended application, with a different ownership and management scheme, to the Commission.

Any attempt to rearrange ownership of the Tyrone plant may be difficult, Ihrig says, because NSP-Minnesota is the only utility now involved with the financial and technical capability to operate a 1,100 megawatt nuclear plant. "The utilities can pull all the financial strings they want, but the fact is NSP-Minnesota is calling the shots."

While the utilities seek methods to bypass the PSC decision, Northern Thunder and other groups are busy organizing grass roots opposition to the plant and preparing to sponsor a regional alternative energy fair in early July.

Preparations are also being made to assemble technical witnesses should the Tyrone proposal reach the public hearing stage before the PSC. In addition, some opponents are already laying tentative plans for massive civil disobedience actions if regulatory and legal measures fail to stop the plant.

Thomas Galazen is a free-lance writer in Turtle Lake, Wisc.

LEGISLATION

Public money for House races?

Support for public financing is centered among freshmen and sophomore members who fear rightwing opposition.

By Georg Zola

WASHINGTON

WORKING QUIETLY SINCE Congress reconvened on Jan. 19, chairman of the House Administration committee Frank Thompson (D-NJ) and Common Cause have been working on a compromise amendment to the Federal Elections Campaign Act that will authorize partial public financing of congressional elections.

A similar measure died in the committee last October for lack of support from a majority of its Democratic members. However, this time Common Cause and supporters from outside the committee are hoping to produce a measure that will appeal to a majority in Congress.

For the past three months Common Cause volunteers have been working to muster support for a public financing bill in the home districts of congressmen who oppose it. At the same time David Cohen, president of Common Cause and Fred Wertheimer, senior vice-president, have been pressuring the Democratic leadership in the House to pass a bill in time for the November elections.

For tactical reasons the measure is ex-

pected to be brought up on the floor and won't be included in the other package of amendments to the FECA the House Administration committee is currently considering.

Action on the measure is expected in late March. Supporters are opting for full House action on the floor, rather than running the risk that the amendment will die in committee again.

Sources close to the committee say that there have been major disagreements among Democratic members of the committee as to whether members of Congress should join the President in getting elected to public office at least in part with public funds. (Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford each received \$21.4 million in public funds for the general election alone in their bids for the presidency in 1976.)

They say that Reps. Frank Annunzio (D-IL) and Mendel Davis (D-SC) are among the strongest committee opponents against partial public financing of congressional elections.

Annunzio's and Davis' opposition can be explained in part by the fact that in the past they have had only token opposition in their bids for re-election.

In the 1976 general election Annunzio raised \$82,176 and spent \$77,220 to get re-elected. His Republican opponent raised only \$6688.

Davis raised \$53,464 and spent \$59,442 in his successful campaign. Presumably he also used about \$6,000 leftover from his last campaign. His Republican opponent raised only \$1,800.

Although a final measure hasn't been drafted, this is what Congress is expected to vote on when the amendment comes before the full House.

If the amendment passes, only congressional general elections would be affected and a ceiling of \$150,000 for campaign ex-

penditures would be set for candidates who accept public funds.

The limit on matching funds would be set at \$50,000, leaving candidates to raise the other \$100,000 from private sources if they could.

Once it becomes evident who the candidates in the general election will be, usually after a primary, they would have ten days to notify the Federal Elections Commission if they want to accept public funds or not.

If one candidate decides against accepting public funds, the spending ceiling for the other candidate would be lifted entirely and the limit of his matching funds would be doubled to \$100,000.

"The bill will be drawn to provide incentives to all candidates to accept public funds," said a committee staff member.

Only contributions of \$100 or less would qualify for matching funds, with only one \$100 contribution or contributions totaling \$100 per person covered. A candidate would have to raise \$10,000 in \$100 contributions before qualifying for matching funds. After that only contributions in blocks totaling \$10,000 would be matched, up to \$50,000. This means that if a candidate raises only \$17,000 in \$100 contributions, only \$10,000 would be matched because the remaining \$7,000 falls \$3,000 short of the \$10,000 block.

The funds for the public financing of elections would come from the one dollar write-off most Americans authorize for public elections when they file annual federal income tax returns.

Other amendments expected to be drawn up by the committee would reduce labor's and business' involvement in congressional elections. Current laws allow labor and business groups to contribute a maximum of \$5,000 per candidate per

group. The amendments would reduce this by half.

Common Cause recently released a report that showed that during the first ten months of 1977, less than a year after the 1976 general elections, special interest groups had made contributions totaling \$2.4 million to incumbent congressmen.

Business and political groups led the list of contributors with contributions totaling \$987,800, while labor groups gave \$844,000. Their combined totals amount to 76 percent of all contributions made during the first ten months.

Individual contributions would still be limited to a maximum of \$1,000 per person per candidate. A candidate opting for matching funds would be allowed to spend a maximum of \$25,000 from his own funds for his campaign.

Support for public financing is centered mostly among the freshmen and sophomore members of Congress, many of whom are still paying off debts from their first campaigns. They want public financing to be available in time for the 1978 elections.

More than anything they fear a blitz of contributions from right wing groups to their prospective opponents in November. The right feels that many first and second term congressmen will be vulnerable in November.

Privately, supporters see only a 50-50 chance of the measure passing the House. They say that in spite of their support for the measure, the House Democratic leadership favors it only reluctantly and will make no attempt to save the legislation if it runs into trouble on the floor.

Opponents in the Senate have already promised a filibuster to kill any measure reaching the Senate floor, even if it affects House elections only.

Georg Zola is a reporter in Washington.

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HUMAN RIGHTS

Rights violated in Charlotte case

Even though the government witnesses were paid for their testimony, the Charlotte Three have not been given a new trial.

By Bob McMahon

CHARLOTTE, N. C.

IN OCTOBER 1957 BLACK ACTIVIST T.J. Reddy and an integrated group of friends visited the Lazy B Riding Stable near Charlotte. Turned away, they returned the next day with more friends including Charles Parker—reporters and TV cameramen. Parker, a black, was allowed to rent a horse. A minor integration incident closed successfully.

Five years later this almost-forgotten episode engulfed Reddy, Parker and their friend and co-worker Jim Grant in a not-yet-concluded nightmare.

The Lazy B Riding Stable had burned Sept. 24, 1968. Fire investigators at the time did not mention the possibility of arson publicly.

In January 1972 Grant, Reddy and Parker were suddenly arrested and charged with burning the Lazy B. Convicted that July, they recieved 25, 20 and ten year prison terms respectively.

The mainstay of the state's case was testimony by Theodore Alfred Hood and Walter David Washington. Together Hood and Washington told a vivid story of participating with the three defendants in a militant underground group called

the United Souls, which practiced the use of guns and fire-bombs, and had burned the riding stable's barn in revenge for the 1967 integration incident.

Hood and Washington also testified against Jim Grant and Ben Chavis—defendants in North Carolina's Wilmington 10 trial (ITT, Feb. 1)—in a federal trial in Raleigh, N.C., in April 1972. Both had long prison records and faced serious new felony charges, dropped in return for their testimony in the two trials.

Throughout the Charlotte trial, the courtroom atmosphere suggested the real offense of the three defendants—repeatedly labelled "black militants" by prosecutor Thomas Moore—was their political activism.

The prosecution allowed no Jews and only one black—an elderly, half-deaf woman—on the jury.

Four witnesses testified that Jim Grant had been visiting them in Pennsylvania in September 1968, at the time he had supposedly masterminded the incendiary activities of the "United Souls."

Moore's cross-examination of these four centered on their political associations. He sought to link them to radical groups like Students for a Democratic Society to discredit their testimony.

One witness, Joe Hahn, asked to list all the groups he belonged to, began with the Republican party, then went through a long list of stamp collectors' clubs. He checked membership cards in his wallet to see if the list was complete. Moore also looked in the wallet, then triumphantly denounced Hahn as a "card-carrying member of the American Civil Liberties Union."

The sentences handed the Three were far longer than usual in arson cases where no one was injured. In his sentencing speech Judge Frank Snapp made it clear

that he had set long terms because he found the defendants to be "a danger to society" as "violent revolutionaries."

Concern in Charlotte over the political character of the case led in 1974 to an investigation by the *Charlotte Observer*. The paper discovered that federal agents had concealed payments to the witnesses and evidence contradicting their trial testimony.

Hood and Washington were paid at least \$4,000 each for their testimony. The deal was approved by then Assistant Attorney General Robert Mardian of the Internal Security Division of the Justice department because their testimony could lead to prosecutions of "leading militants" Grant and Chavis.

The deal was set up by federal Alcohol, Tax and Firearms (ATF) agents William Walden and Stanley Noell, who did most of the investigation for the state in the Charlotte 3 trial. (The two agents also assisted N.C. authorities in building the case against the Wilmington 10.)

Washington told Walden that he had not seen who set fire to the Lazy B barn. On the witness stand, however, he described watching Parker and Reddy fire-bomb the building.

The jury and the defense did not know about his earlier contradictory statement. Hood denied on the stand that he had received any payment for his testimony.

Armed with this new evidence, Grant, Reddy, and Parker sought a new trial. The court appeals that have followed have been slow and frustrating.

After sitting on the case for 17 months, N.C. Superior Court Judge Sam Ervin III denied their appeal. Ervin ruled that the state would have been required to turn over the concealed evidence to the defense had it come from its own agents, but that federal agents helping the state need not

tell all they knew or the tactics they used to obtain it. Higher state and federal courts, including the Fourth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals on Feb. 4, 1978, have declined to review or overturn Ervin's ruling.

The case is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. Grant and Reddy are out on bond at this time. Parker was paroled after serving over two years of his term.

"At this time," says Grant, "We're not looking to the courts for justice," especially "given how the Supreme Court has gone recently, not just on civil rights but also on other matters."

A campaign has been mounted seeking a pardon of innocence—or at least commutation of sentences to time served—from North Carolina Governor James Hunt.

Like the Wilmington 10, the Charlotte 3 have been adopted by Amnesty International as "prisoners of conscience." Both U.S. Senators and the Governor of Connecticut, Grant's home state, have called upon Hunt to pardon the Three.

Hunt, whose recent decision to leave the Wilmington 10 in jail on reduced terms angered human rights activists, is reportedly no more receptive to the Charlotte 3.

Jack Cozort, Hunt's legal adviser, has reportedly told Charlotte 3 defense committee members angrily that the governor had spent enough time on the Wilmington 10. Hunt, Cozort said, "doesn't even want to think" about the Charlotte 3 "for at least six months."

For more information: N.C. Political Prisoners Committee, P.O. Box 2712, Charlotte, NC 28201.

Bob McMahon is a North Carolina freelance writer.

CIRCULATION STANDINGS

Explanation: Only those cities/towns with 10 or more subscribers are listed. In cases where town/cities are adjacent or in close proximity an area total is listed. Area totals are also listed for the large metropolitan area. The state total(s) include all subscribers.

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Amherst-Northampton	80
Worcester	29
Lowell-Lawrence	13
Boston	499
RHODE ISLAND	35
NEW HAMPSHIRE	55
MAINE	51
VERMONT	74
Burlington area	24
CONNECTICUT	231
Hartford	33
Storrs-Williamantic	16
Middleton	26
New Haven	69
Stanford-Norwalk	23
NEW JERSEY	269
New Brunswick-Highland Park	45
Princeton	27
Camden	16
Newark-Jersey City	153
NEW YORK	1693
Manhattan	801
Staten Island	13
Bronx	58
White Plains	73
Long Island	170
Flushing-Queens area	88
Albany-Troy-Schenectady	42
Poughkeepsie	17
Saratoga Springs	18
Syracuse	13
Brooklyn	169
Binghampton	17
Buffalo	41
Rochester	35
Ithaca	32
PENNSYLVANIA	559
Pittsburgh	85
Erie	14
State College	10
Harrisburg	10
Swarthmore	14
Philadelphia	245

DELAWARE-MARYLAND	509
Washington, D.C.	387
Baltimore	86
VIRGINIA	151
Arlington-Alexandria	52
WEST VIRGINIA	50
Morgantown	13
NORTH CAROLINA	118
Chapel Hill	24
Durham	19
Raleigh	10
SOUTH CAROLINA	28
Columbus	11
GEORGIA	92
Atlanta	51
Athens	10
FLORIDA	152
Jacksonville	10
Miami	33
St. Petersburg	12
Ft. Lauderdale	15
ALABAMA	33
TENNESSEE	50
Nashville	10
Knoxville	10
MISSISSIPPI	13
KENTUCKY	84
Louisville	20
Lexington	36
OHIO	290
Columbus	18
Toledo	14
Cleveland	62
Akron	13
Youngstown	15
Oxford	10
Cincinnati	30
Yellow Springs	20
Dayton	13
INDIANA	140
Indianapolis	25
Gary-Hammond	30
South Bend	10
Bloomington	19
Lafayette	13

MICHIGAN	328
Ann Arbor	71
Lansing	50
Grand Rapids	14
Detroit	120
IOWA	62
Ames	12
Iowa City	17
WISCONSIN	294
Milwaukee	81
Madison	131
Eau Claire	12
MINNESOTA	194
St. Paul	36
Minneapolis	109
SOUTH DAKOTA	16
NORTH DAKOTA	11
MONTANA	66
Missoula	33
ILLINOIS	990
DeKalb	42
Evanston	52
Oak Park	33
Chicago	586

Urbana-Champaign	33
Springfield	16
MISSOURI	133
St. Louis	70
Kansas City	19
Columbia	15
KANSAS	32
NEBRASKA	30
Lincoln	12
LOUISIANA	33
New Orleans	16
ARKANSAS	19
OKLAHOMA	41
Norman	11
TEXAS	207
Dallas	22
Houston	39
San Antonio	14
Austin	54
El Paso	11
COLORADO	151
Denver	54
Boulder	43
WYOMING	8
IDAHO	17
UTAH	12
Salt Lake City	10

ARIZONA	66
Phoenix	18
Tucson	30
NEW MEXICO	51
Albuquerque	37
NEVADA	12
CALIFORNIA	2270
Los Angeles area	905
San Diego area	149
San Francisco area	1123
Fresno	12
Carmel	18
Davis	22
Sacramento	38
Chico	14
OREGON	182
Portland	75
Eugene	44
WASHINGTON	240
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IN THE WORLD

U.S./ZIMBABWE

Smith's settlement gives whites veto

By Robert A. Manning

THERE HAS BEEN, WE ARE TIRELESSLY told, an agreement signed between Ian Smith and three "moderate" African leaders that will create a black majority government in Zimbabwe by the end of the year.

The U.S. and Britain, who have been fruitlessly trying to obtain an Anglo-American plan for Rhodesia's transition to Zimbabwe, gave Smith's version of "majority rule" a cautious welcome. But the ink was barely dry as Africa responded with a resounding "No." The guerilla forces of the Patriotic Front (PF) composed of Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU and Robert Mugabe's ZANU denounced the accord as a "sellout," as did the five frontline African states (Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, Zambia, and Tanzania) reflecting the dominant views of the Organization of African Unity.

The initial reaction of UN Ambassador Andy Young (who has been on the losing end of a battle with Zbigniew Brzezinski over Africa policy) touched on the heart of the matter: "An internal settlement is no settlement. It does not address the issues that have some 40,000 people fighting." Yet, in the same breath (though conveniently omitted for sensationalist impact by the press) Young qualified his apparent rejection explaining, "I would hope that this would not stop the Anglo-American plan, but that it may be one step in the direction...toward bringing all the parties together in a free election."

Even a casual glance at the agreement reveals its sheer inadequacy. The first thing that must be said about it is that it was, as few would dispute, the strain of a guerilla war costing \$1 million a day, taking up one-third of white manpower and resulting in white emigration of 1,000 a month that led the wily Smith to any agreement at all.

White veto power.

The agreement signed by Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and tribal Chief Jeremiah Chirau provides white veto power, reserving 28 of 100 seats in parliament for whites (who comprise 4 percent of the population). The *New York Times*, hardly a supporter of guerilla war, editorialized, "The deal is little more than a device for keeping real power in the hands of Rhodesia's small white minority." The accord, the *Times* pointed out, "would let the white settler community block any measures that threaten its economic privileges for at least ten years." The judiciary, police, army and civil service would all remain white-dominated.

Moreover, during the transition period (until Dec. 31) all of Rhodesia's emergency laws remain—laws permitting such things as shooting on sight anyone who ventures outside tribal trust lands after curfew, and would keep more than 500,000 Africans in "protected villages" (read: strategic hamlets) where the white government has herded them to separate them from guerilla influence.

The accord provides for white property guarantees and pensions payable overseas. It prevents any fundamental social, political or economic changes in the structure of society or the state aside from making the three black leaders accomplices. Joshua Nkomo summed up the situation, saying, "The problem has been simplified... Muzorewa and Sithole are now part of the Smith regime. We face one enemy now."

The media have tried to portray the "moderate" Africans as popular figures with broad support acting as a "voice of



Prime Minister Ian Smith is about to sign agreement in Salisbury, Rhodesia, March 3 with (left to right) Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Tribal Chief Jeremiah Chirau, and the Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole.

reason," thus laying the ideological groundwork for U.S. backing for an internal settlement. William Randolph Hearst went so far as to propose Ian Smith for the Nobel peace prize.

Of the three leaders, the only one with any popular support is Bishop Muzorewa. Chirau is widely known as "Smith's man," and Sithole, who was one of the founders of ZANU, since deposed, an opportunist who recently moved into a plush high-walled house in Salisbury's white suburbs, has no real base. But most of Muzorewa's support is as a clergyman. Muzorewa is the first American-educated Methodist bishop in Rhodesia. He is not known for his political astuteness. He only began to dabble in politics in 1971 at the urging of ZAPU and ZANU (whose leaders were in prison) when he led a campaign against a British referendum seeking to legitimize Smith.

Although much of the media has echoed Smith's claim that the guerillas have no real support and the "moderates" are the real voice of the people, there have been no opinion polls, and the fact that tens of thousands of Africans have fled the country to join the guerillas certainly expresses an opinion.

The accord is a much watered-down version of the Anglo-American plan, which didn't provide white veto power and called for an internationally supervised transition period under British guidance (Britain is the legal colonial power).

Guerilla war intensifies.

British Foreign Secretary David Owen, who is under strong pressure from British Conservatives to back Smith's plan, called the deal "a significant step towards majority rule." Although the Carter administration has feigned agreement with Britain, the U.S. leans more towards getting the PF involved in the political process, while Owen has favored the internal settlement. Owen summed up the dilemma facing Britain and the U.S.: Without PF participation, "it will be difficult to win international approval, difficult to hold fair and free elections and difficult to get economic sanctions lifted." Owen and U.S. Asst. Sec. of State for Africa recently met in London with Sithole and claimed "qualified support from Britain and the U.S."

Smith has hoped to trigger a split in

the PF and lure Nkomo into the internal settlement. This has also been the hope of the British who view Nkomo as the most adept of politicians. But with the cards stacked against him, Nkomo has held firm and the PF has drawn closer together. In lieu of a split, the Anglo-American partners still hope to bring the PF into the present settlement, which would give it international credibility. But under the present circumstances it appears unlikely that the PF would participate.

The debate underway in the UN Security Council is the first major challenge to the internal settlement and to Anglo-American maneuvers. Unless Britain and the U.S. are prepared to cast vetoes, the Security Council is expected to retain economic sanctions against Rhodesia and reject the internal settlement.

Both Nkomo and Mugabe have vowed to intensify the war effort. ZANU has more than 5,000 guerillas in the field operating from bases in Mozambique and throughout the eastern part of Zimbabwe. ZAPU has been less effective, and has barely 1,000 of more than 8,000 trained guerillas actually fighting, operating from bases in Zambia. If Nkomo mobilizes the forces at his disposal, the war in the western part of the country could heat up and make it very difficult to hold elections.

Rightwing pressure on Carter.

The Carter administration is beginning to feel rightwing pressure—part of a general conservative backlash to many of Carter's foreign policy initiatives—against support to include the PF. Since the first days, there has been a struggle between "global strategists" such as Brzezinski and the "Africanists" such as Young who have urged removing Africa policy from the global Cold War chessboard and dealing with Africa in African terms.

As initiatives in southern Africa stagnated and Soviet and Cuban involvement has grown in the Horn of Africa, Young's influence has been waning as Carter has taken a "get tough" stand with the Russians trying to muster backing in Congress for the Panama Canal Treaty and also a SALT arms accord with the USSR. The direction the U.S. takes on Zimbabwe is a key indicator of which way American

policy is going.

Young has warned that a "black-on-black" civil war may ensue if the internal settlement goes ahead alongside a deepening war. "We have evidence," Young has said, "that there would be a massive commitment of Soviet weapons as there was in Angola." Already, usually moderate Zambia has warned that it might have to seek aid from the Eastern countries and possibly Cuban troops may be invited in. American officials feel that large-scale Soviet involvement—at least in terms of military hardware—is a virtual certainty if the war intensifies in tandem with the internal settlement.

The worst-case scenario envisioned by the State Department is a situation where such a war would develop and South Africa would be the only outside power willing to commit forces. The U.S. and its NATO allies, who have been working overtime for a credible "moderate" solution in southern Africa to prevent the formation of a radical bloc of African states from Angola across to Mozambique, might be forced to back Pretoria at least tacitly given the present Cold War atmosphere.

Such a scenario would totally shatter the "enlightened" pro-African nationalist Africa policy that the administration has tried to project and completely erode Western credibility—always suspect—in Africa.

But, as South Africa has given Smith's plan its blessings, such a scenario is not far-fetched.

Whether or not the Anglo-American bluff is called, the Zimbabwe situation underscores a crucial point: the conflicts in southern Africa, contrary to media image-mongering, have never been simply "race wars." African liberation forces have not been fighting in the bush simply to create a black middle class to fill the shoes of the present colonial mentors, but rather to transform from bottom to top the white-dominated societies. There is a fundamental conflict of interests between white privilege and the Western economic interest bolstering it and the cause of African liberation. In Zimbabwe, where 6.7 million Africans outnumber the white settler community 25 to one, this is becoming imminently clear.

Robert A. Manning covers American foreign policy in Africa for *IN THESE TIMES*.

FRANCE

Marseilles' left secure, but split

By Jim Cohen

MARSEILLES

MARSEILLES, FRANCE'S second largest city with nearly a million inhabitants, has been a prominent port and commercial center since ancient times. It has been governed for the past 24 years by Gaston Defferre, a Socialist party leader of national stature and a former government minister.

With one of the heaviest concentrations of working class population in all of Europe, Marseilles and the Rhone delta region are solidly to the left. It will remain so after this week's legislative elections. Of the region's 11 deputies in the National Assembly, six are Communist and four are Socialist. A lone district, located in the commercial center of Marseilles—demographically the smallest and the most aged in the city—is held by a Gaullist.

Since World War II, the parties of the right have had enormous problems generating local leadership and gaining footholds in places of municipal and regional power. The involvement of conservative politicians in financial scandals and secret paramilitary activities hasn't helped. Even many businessmen shun the right, preferring to negotiate directly with the real seat of power: Gaston Defferre's city hall. The mayor's influence over municipal purse-strings, building permits, and public opinion make it difficult to avoid dealing with him.

But while the left is well entrenched, the market economy continues to have as tight a grip as ever. The rate of unemployment, hovering near 10 percent, is more than double the national average. Manufacture, construction and naval repair are all deeply depressed. The huge steel and petrochemical complex created ten years ago in nearby Fos-sur-Mer employs thousands of workers; but there are highly capital-intensive industries that, at present, are working nowhere near full capacity. Layoffs and hard-fought defensive strikes to resist them—are common occurrences at Fos these days. Only the maritime trade in Marseilles' vast port seems to have resisted major decline.

Salaries here are below the average national level. About 70 percent of all salaried workers in the region earn less than 2,400 francs monthly—the wage level advanced by both the Communists and the Socialists as a necessary minimum.

A divided left.

The elected officials of the left are vigorously proposing the Common Program of the left as an overall national solution, but Socialist and Communist party leaders have clashed sharply for the past several months over how to revise the Program. The likely prospect of a left victory is poisoned by disunity and disarray.

Here in Marseilles, the situation is, if anything, worse than elsewhere. Defferre is an old warhorse who has been part of the Socialist "family" since long before the post-1968 upsurge of popular struggle. When first elected mayor in 1953, he replaced a Communist, Jean Cristofol. Those were the Cold War days, and Defferre's brand of socialism was strongly anti-Communist. Throughout the '50s and '60s, and even after the signing of the Common Program in 1972, Defferre's local alliances were with the right, against the Communists.

As mayor, Defferre is in charge of over 11,000 municipal employees. He has steadfastly refused to negotiate with the CGT and CFDT, the two left-oriented labor confederations that represent the majority of organized workers in France. The only union Defferre recognizes in municipal ranks is Force Ouvriere, a union

The French left is supposed to win when Marseilles goes to the polls. But the Socialist-Communist quarrel may make the victory an empty one.

created during the Cold War with the benevolent aid of the CIA. Force Ouvriere has always refused to support the political left in the name of "independent unionism."

Two years ago, a long and bitter garbageman's strike for higher wages—and against city hall's harassment of CGT and CFDT organizers—prompted Defferre to call in the army to break the strike. One of the by-products of this confrontation was a partial radicalization of municipal workers, many of whom see their mayor as a socialist impostor.

This image is not helped by Defferre's being a wealthy owner of two newspapers. One of these is *Le Provençal*, local organ of the Socialist party, which Defferre acquired thanks to a law, which he helped to pass, authorizing the expropriation of newspaper owners who collaborated with the Nazis. In 1965 Defferre wheeled and dealed to gain control of a second paper, *Le Meridional*, the tribune of the local right, noted for its "law and order" and anti-immigrant stances.

Active throughout World War II in the anti-German Resistance, Defferre is recognized by all as an extremely adept politician. His firm hold on city hall is based not only on classic "voter appeal" but also on a highly ramified system of neighborhood committees for satisfaction of local demands, patronage in city hiring, and organized recreational activities.

Defferre flushes right.

Last year, Defferre was elected mayor for the fifth time. And for the first time, he "flushed" his allies on the right—in grand style—and sought the cooperation of the Communists in city management. From the start, however, the relationship

CRIS/Pierro



Gaston Defferre (right), the Socialist mayor of Marseilles, shakes hands with Maurice Genoyer, a local businessman who bought out a failing crane company in 1976 and put it back on its feet.

was stormy, with constant disagreement over the sharing of administrative posts and money. Pedestrian zones, tax rates, aid to flood victims, credits for the brand-new subway: everything became the pretext for quarrels reflecting the national conflicts of the left.

The election is expected to make few changes in the representation of the region, but a few new faces have appeared to spice the action. In the fourth district, the working class bastion of the recently deceased Communist elder statesman Francois Billoux, it is virtually certain that the new deputy will be Guy Hermier, a rising star in the CP apparatus. Hermier, a university professor with no real links to his district (a very common phenomenon in French politics), is a member of his party's Central Committee.

The third district belongs to Defferre. In the event of a left victory, it is almost a sure thing that he will become a government minister—probably Minister of the

Interior—leaving his running mate Jeanne Mazel to occupy his seat. Mazel is a former nurse who was appointed by Defferre to preside over a women's information center run by the city. Her electoral campaign has been an energetic effort not only to gather votes, but to raise the consciousness of men and women alike about sexual inequalities.

One of Defferre's right-hand men, Charles-Emile Loo, is almost certain to retain his seat. Loo, National Treasurer of the Socialist party, is a former print worker who later opened up his own shop. He is head of the 15,000-member Federation des Bouches-du-Rhone, one of the most powerful regional branches of the Socialist party.

The national electoral scandal has also affected Marseilles. Defferre has initiated court action against the government for attempting to stuff the ballot box with absentee ballots from Austria, Gabon, and

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SPAIN

Communists winning factory vote

By Barbara Mann Franck

BARCELONA

IN THE MIDST OF A SUDDEN increase in labor conflicts, *Comisiones Obreras* (CCOO, the Workers Commissions)—the trade union, dominated by the Spanish Communist party (PCE)—is winning a solid victory in current factory elections. Premier Adolfo Suarez, whose cabinet is undergoing a shake-up, has maintained absolute silence on the subject of the Communists' impressive display of strength among the Spanish working class.

With less than half of the vote in, CCOO candidates have won 37.9 percent of the 80,415 factory representative posts. The Spanish Socialist party's (PSOE) *Union General de Trabajadores* (UGT) is in second place with 31 percent of the representatives. Press analysts expect the trend in favor of the CCOO to continue.

While elections continued beyond the original mid-February deadline set by the unions themselves, thousands of workers have taken to the streets in recent weeks in strike actions to support demands un-

der negotiation in the hundreds of collective contracts now up for renewal around the country and to protest problems left unsolved by the *Pacto de la Moncloa*—rising unemployment, company closings and inflation.

CCOO leader Marcelino Camacho warned that "there will be more mobilizations as long as the government fails to meet its obligations."

In early February in Navarra 40,000 workers staged a one-day strike. In the unitary action to protest recent firings in the northwestern Basque province and to highlight salary demands related to various contracts, police used rubber bullets and smoke bombs against demonstrating workers. In late February 10,000 workers from SEAT, led by socialist Catalan senators to the Cortes (Spanish parliament), marched through Barcelona in a militant reaction to a central government-approved plan for reducing production by shortening the work week—and thus lowering wages—at all of the company's plants.

The economic crisis, lately affecting Basque ship builders and steel foundries, has provoked in-fighting among Spanish

capitalists and a re-shuffling in the cabinet. The sector of the government that promotes tight money policies, state intervention and nationalization of crucial industries and a long-term program for strengthening business is apparently losing out to those favoring fast, short-term credit and *laissez faire*. The former group was behind the economic *Pacto*, signed last fall by political leaders including Socialists and Communists. The latter faction is more responsive to pressures for immediate financial aid that are coming with increasing insistence from Spain's big business.

The division in the cabinet is undoubtedly responsible for the government's failure to live up to its end of the economic pact.

Suarez, as always, finds himself threatened from all sides—by far-right Spanish capitalists, by a restless Communist working class, by nationalist sentiments in the two regions of greatest economic importance and by an endless chain of economic problems.

The PSOE is predicting Suarez won't last into 1979.

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JAPAN

Japanese economy in a sea of troubles

By Phil Hill

HIROSHIMA

WHEN JAPANESE PRIME Minister Fukuda Takeo unveiled his first cabinet at Christmas 1976 to include Hatoyama Ichi-ro as foreign minister, no one was more surprised than Hatoyama himself. The junior Diet member from Tokyo had almost no foreign policy experience or other visible qualifications. It was Fukuda's way of saying that 1977 was to be a year for dealing with internal economic problems and internal dissent, but not with foreign policy.

At year's end, it was obvious that international developments had made a shambles of Fukuda's conservative fiscal plans for the economy. Unemployment was rising, inflation soaring, and bankruptcies were at an all-time high. Disagreements over trade with other major capitalist countries had blown up into a virtual trade and monetary war. And Japanese fishing fleets had been driven 200 miles out from most major fishing coasts, or were fishing there at the sufferance of local governments.

The new cabinet inaugurated Nov. 28 featured a powerful team of foreign policy and economics experts designed to deal with the crisis. Sonoda Sunao, who replaces Hatoyama in the Foreign Office, and the new director-general of the Economic Planning Agency, Miyazawa Kiichi, are both potential candidates for the premiership, if they don't become too badly tainted by failure.

Komoto Toshio, Minister of International Trade and Industry, which coordinates the activities of Japanese multinationals, has openly been pushing opposition to Fukuda for policies more suitable to the U.S. Rounding out the team is bureaucrat Ushiba Nobuhiko, a non-member of parliament who takes over a special foreign economic affairs portfolio.

Japan-Soviet relations deteriorate.

The team went on the road quickly—Ushiba to start trade negotiations with the U.S.'s Robert Strauss, Sonoda to discuss fishing and related problems with the Soviets in Moscow.

The talks with the Soviets were complicated by the dispute over some small islands seized by the USSR after World War II, but still claimed by Japan. The dispute now has assumed added importance because the islands have their own 200-mile zone. The Soviets once again refused to consider the Japanese claim, leading to a total deadlock and the likelihood that relations will deteriorate further.

This is particularly true since one of the new cabinet's priorities is to ratify the peace treaty with China that has been stalled for years by Chinese insistence on a clause pledging both countries to oppose "hegemonism" in East Asia by any "Third Power." Moscow radio on Nov. 24 repeated for the *n*th time the USSR's position that "if Japan accepts an anti-hegemony clause, ...Japan will be turned into an enemy of a third nation against which the clause is directed... A third nation has the right to retaliate." That would probably take the form of fishing restrictions.

Other factors than Soviet intransigence are pushing Japan toward signing the offending treaty. Primary among them is Japan's need to open up new markets to substitute for restrictions being imposed by the West. With trade now totalling about \$3 billion annually, China is already Japan's second-largest export market after the U.S., but also sells far less in Japan than it buys—and almost half of what it sells is oil. It is no coincidence that the chairman of the business committee that negotiated the recent \$20 billion eight-year trade pact with Peking is Inayama Yoshihiro, chairman of the



U.S. deputy trade negotiator Alan Wolf, left, shakes hands Jan. 9 with Ushiba Nobuhiko, Japan's Minister of External Economic Affairs, in a Tokyo meeting.

board of Nippon Steel, one of the companies hardest hit by the steel slump.

Success in Southeast Asia.

But if Japan's hunger for markets is driving her toward China, her desire to cut her own imports is becoming a potential obstacle to Sino-Japanese relations. The trouble is a seabed oilfield within the Japanese 200-mile zone, which, however, is on the Asian continental shelf and thus legally Chinese and Korean. Fukuda is pushing through the Diet a bill to ratify a treaty with South Korea calling for joint exploitation of the area.

China and North Korea consider this an act of aggression, and relations are expected to worsen. They couldn't get much worse with North Korea, actually. Kim Il-sung made several gestures last year to improve relations, and Fukuda responded with the continental shelf treaty; a bar on a North Korean delegation to last August's anti-A-bomb conference in this city; and a refusal to permit representatives of the quarter-million North Korean citizens resident in Japan, who had attended a parliamentary session in Pyongyang, to re-enter Japan.

The only area where Japan made a significant foreign policy initiative last year, and where it faces no major governmental rivalry in the coming period, is Southeast Asia. There, Japan needs access to the abundant resources of the ASEAN countries and Burma, whose governments, dependent as they are on foreign capital, are happy to oblige.

Nor is human rights in these six right-wing dictatorships much of a concern. Says Fukuda: "Our basic policy is that Japan does not interfere in the internal affairs of any country." In fact, Japan's growing need to increase exports to these countries demands "tranquility," i.e., suppression of the large-scale insurrections that are confronting all the countries in the area except the city-state of Singapore.

Fairy tale agreement with U.S.

Trade with the U.S. remains the major problem. As Japan's trade surplus increased early last year, the Carter ad-

ministration gradually forced down the value of the dollar from almost 300 yen at New Years to around 270 Yen by September, thus adding 10 percent to the dollar price of Japanese exports. Then, after Japan continued to defy demands to curb exports, the International Monetary Fund board of governors met in Washington and lowered the boom: The dollar plummeted to 240 yen, defying all efforts by the Japanese government to stem the slide.

That level was considered by most companies the "break even" point, below which Japan's goods would be priced out of the market abroad. With the exchange rate making daily headlines and export-oriented industrialists in a panic, Fukuda caved in. The new cabinet took power, the trade talks with Strauss resumed, and the currency exchange rate settled down at 240 yen.

The terms of the trade agreement, however, are like some kind of capitalist fairy tale. On the one hand, exports are to be curbed; on the other, the cabinet is pledged to a "real growth" rate of 7 percent next year, largely through reflationary government spending. Sanwa Bank president Akashi Toshio considers the target absurd, and adds: "The situation is so severe that it would be difficult to achieve a 6 percent growth rate only with the package now under study." The real trouble, of course, is that if exports are curbed, real growth will be impossible.

Nine million tons of unsold steel is rusting in inventories. There are few lay-offs in the major corporations, but bankruptcies of small firms and pay cuts being enforced in steel and other industries will ensure that the home market stagnates, in which case reflationary measures will merely be inflationary. But no one is expressing these fears in the mass media; the consensus is that Japan will have to live with what Washington dictates.

Radical peasant opposition.

The opposition parties, feuding among each other and internally—the Communist party is almost totally preoccupied with a feud with an expelled deputy chair-

man—have failed to challenge the government masterplan significantly. The radical left, however, small as it is, is doing so.

Efforts are being made to link up the struggle of farmers over low farm prices, which they fear will be driven even lower by increased American imports, with that of urban workers whose wages and jobs are threatened. Says Osaka's independent radical newspaper *Jinmin Shinbun*: "Japanese monopoly capital has been holding down the price of rice and keeping wages suppressed in order to win the upper hand in the international economic competitive struggle... The Jiminto (the ruling Liberal-Democratic party) government's charted course is to win relief from the movement toward restriction on imports of manufactured goods, especially by the U.S., by importing more American wheat."

A similar note was sounded by a farmer from Chiba prefecture who spoke here recently soliciting support for the anti-airport struggle at Sanrizuka, near Tokyo. He spoke almost as much about the forced import of American beef and oranges as he did about the airport.

The idea is to make Sanrizuka a starting point for a nation-wide radical peasant movement.

That would be bad news for the ruling Liberal Democrats, which count on the blatantly over-represented rural areas to keep it in power. And it is not out of the question.

A full page ad taken out by two-nation-wide farmers groups in the Tokyo English-language daily, the *Japan Times*, on Jan. 12 was an open letter to Strauss stating the farmers' case against increased agricultural imports. "If such a desperate request on our part were to be ignored," the farmers' letter concluded, "...the entire farming population...would develop a strong sense of distrust toward the government and the party in power, and there is danger of resorting to radical political action." Internal opposition may well derail Fukuda's "foreign policy year" just as foreign pressures messed up his "domestic problems year" in 1977. ■



MK-ULTRA

How do you destroy a person's consciousness? The CIA set out to find out in MK-ULTRA. Lying, prostitution, illegal experimentation and even murder were to follow.

By Sidney Blumenthal

John Marks reads reports about the CIA carefully. The lanky, bearded former State department official is the co-author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, the only book published in the U.S. that the CIA succeeded in censoring. There is a great deal of white space on the book's pages, indicating sections that the CIA snipped out. The Agency felt that reporting its skulduggery was a danger to national security; by censoring a book the CIA somehow believed it was protecting American liberties.

Marks' book was among the indirect reasons that the Senate launched its probe into CIA improprieties in 1976. In an attempt to head off the Senate the Ford administration created its own legislative body, headed by Vice President Nelson Rockefeller, to report on CIA misconduct.

In the Rockefeller Report a horrific incident was described in which Frank Olson, an Army scientist, was handed a glass of liqueur spiked with LSD, a drug then virtually unknown. Olson panicked as he felt himself losing self-control and committed suicide by jumping out a window.

Olson hadn't known that he was a guinea-pig in a CIA experiment, and his family was not told the true reason for his death until the release of the Rockefeller Report. Government officials issued a belated apology to the Olsons and hoped that the matter was finally re-



Ken Firestone

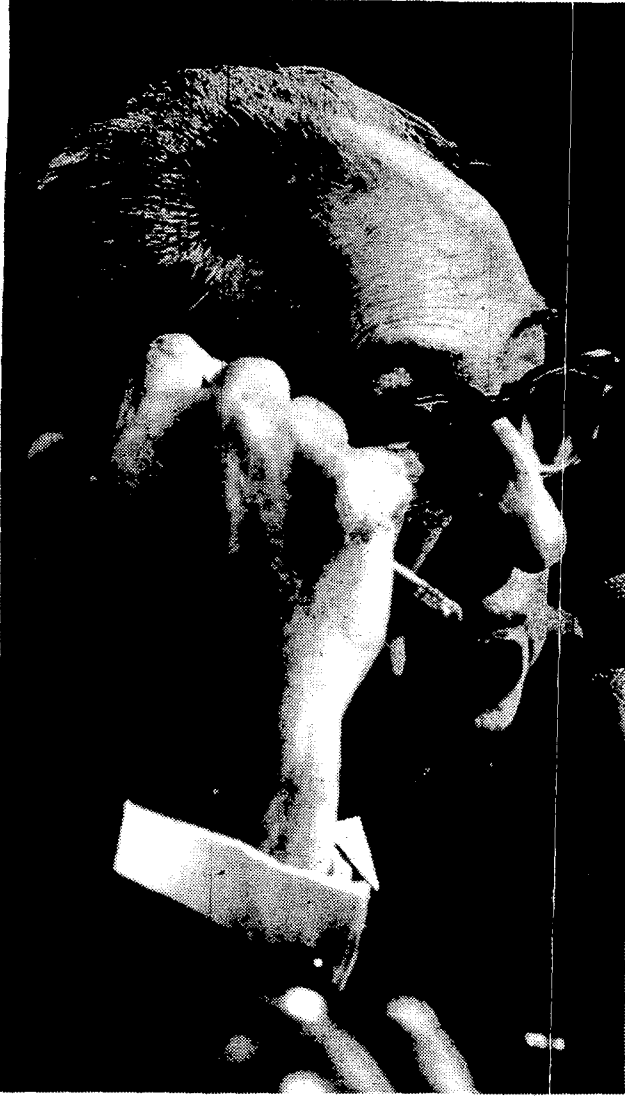
solved. Curiously, the Rockefeller Report's mention of the Olson affair was simply accompanied by sentences indicating that the incident was part of a larger CIA program.

"The press in typical fashion didn't go into it," says Marks, now associated with the Washington-based Center for National Security Studies. From past experience he knew that when the CIA and its allies are discrete about something there is much more to the story than is being told. Marks filed a Freedom of Information Act suit for all CIA documents on its drug programs. He knew no more than what the general public did about the matter but he was confident about his instincts.

When the CIA told him in June 1975 that they had no documents Marks was more certain than ever that what was being concealed must be of large scope and relative significance. He informed the *Washington Post* of the CIA's denial of any drug programs, an item the newspaper printed as news. "Then the CIA said 'Sorry, there are documents, after all,'" Marks says.

The first batch arrived in August 1976. It was a typical CIA release, with whole paragraphs censored. The Agency was not handing Marks the number of documents that he thought existed. "When I got a law firm to lean on the government I started getting satisfaction," he says. "In November 1976 I sued the CIA for holding back documents. This seems to get their attention." In mid-summer 1977 the CIA told Marks that they seemed to have discovered 10,000 pages of documents they hadn't known about. These papers apparently

James K.W. Atherton/Wash. Post



Sidney J. Gottlieb

Key director of the MK-ULTRA program. His name is the only one that appears on CIA papers. Ordered by Director Helms to destroy records. Being set up as the fall guy.

materialized from nowhere. Stansfield Turner, the new chief of the CIA, appointed by Jimmy Carter, publicly declared that these documents had not previously been turned over to the Senate Intelligence committee. It was raw stuff, unprocessed by investigators.

The contents of these once secret papers are startling. Once the first few tidbits from their pages were made public by Marks, the Senate Intelligence committee proclaimed that it would hold new hearings. The *New York Times* filed a Freedom of Information Act of its own, so that it could possess the documents and run stories without attribution to an outside source like Marks; the *Times* wanted credit for the scoop.

The newly released CIA papers reveal an extensive drug experimentation program carried out by the CIA with the intention of learning how to manipulate subjects against their wills. Byzantine contrivances for procuring unwitting guinea-pigs were employed by the Agency. Universities were used without being informed as sites for various experiments with substances such as LSD.

The program was known by a number of code names; the one by which it seems destined to be identified in the future is MK-ULTRA.

THE CIA HAS TRIED TO DOWNPLAY THE importance of the MK-ULTRA program by depicting it as a justifiable reaction to Communist mind-control experiments in the late 1940s, the beginning of the Cold War.

In 1949 in Hungary, Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty was placed on trial for treason, a crime to which he confessed. CIA officials were supposedly struck by the numb look in his eyes, a condition they postulated might have been induced by strange new drugs perfected by the Communists.

The next year, according to this version of events, the CIA set up a program as a response to the Communist challenge; it is now claimed to have been purely defensive. This early CIA endeavor was labeled Project Bluebird, later called Project Artichoke, and even later dubbed MK-ULTRA.

This historical account offered by the CIA has its own internal logic. However, it doesn't conform to the facts. Actually, U.S. intelligence efforts to control human behavior originated in 1943, as the Office of Strategic Services, the predecessor of the CIA, sought to develop a truth serum for use against Axis agents.

The OSS agent who played a key role in this project was an enigmatic and flamboyant operative named George Hunter White. The search for the truth serum—called "T-drug" by the OSS—was like exploration for the fountain of youth. It promised wonderful effects but was impossible to find. Yet along the route fabulous adventures, from the point of view of the explorer, unfolded.

The first experimental T-drug was a marijuana derivative, chemically known as tetrahydrocannabinol acetate, now commonly referred to as THC. George White was one of the first Americans to smoke the dope. The result, he wrote in his diary, was "to knock myself out."

During that year, 1943, White traveled from Washington and checked into a New York hotel with the secret substance, trying it on unwitting people he lured to his hotel room. He was guarded by armed intelligence agents, protecting this great wartime weapon. White's drug dealings so fascinated him that he became a top officer in the Federal Bureau of Narcotics after the war.

Fortunately, CIA statements of their intentions in the MK-ULTRA program are preserved on documents. The Agency has not wavered over the years, even as deaths were caused by the careless nature of their activity. The record shows that nothing discouraged them from attempting to find a means, as a document puts it, to "abolish consciousness."

A 1953 memo from a top level study group to CIA director Allen Dulles admitted that MK-ULTRA was "unethical" but claimed that there was an "urgent need" for it. The group said that it was necessary to find "effective and practical techniques" to "render an individual subservient to an imposed will or control."

An Agency official warned that "precautions must be taken." His admonishment was not directed to researchers or CIA operatives in the field to avoid testing on unwitting subjects. Instead, he advised that the program must be kept hidden "not only...from...enemy forces but also to conceal these activities from the American public in general."

As early as 1953 the CIA believed that LSD would be the magic substance that would enable the Agency to control human behavior. A memo suggested what patterns useful to the CIA might be elicited by the use of LSD. These were listed: "Disturbance of memory, discrediting by aberrant behavior, alteration of sex patterns, eliciting of information, suggestibility, creation of dependence."

THE CIA ALSO SOUGHT TO DISCOVER drugs that would promote "illogical thinking and impulsiveness to the point where the recipient would be discredited in public." A knock-out drug "which can

surreptitiously be administered in drinks, food, cigarettes, as an aerosol" was a highly desirable item the CIA was looking for as well. Another drug they wanted was one to make it "impossible for a man to perform any physical activity whatsoever."

The CIA tried finding a drug that would achieve "controlled production" of headaches, something they called "headache clusters." The CIA wanted new methods of creating pain. They wanted to be able to render a subject completely spastic to "subvert his principles," so that he might be manipulated in ways that "may vary from rationalizing a disloyal act to the construction of a new person."

Amnesia was another big goal. By learning how to induce it the Agency hoped to control people's memories. They hoped to be able to wipe out certain areas of an individual's experiences, leaving him only with memory of things that the Agency wanted.

Murder was also on the agenda. Killing is a sloppy affair and the CIA wanted to tidy it up by learning how to murder someone without leaving a trace.

Throughout the history of MK-ULTRA one of its key directors was Dr. Sidney Gottlieb. His name appears on many of the MK-ULTRA documents, although there were other CIA officials involved. Their names, however, don't appear on the drug papers; they were careful. In the end Gottlieb, whatever his responsibility, took the fall for the rest of his colleagues.

One of the first men Gottlieb turned to as MK-ULTRA began was George White, the former OSS operative. Hearing of the project, White signed on as a "consultant," while keeping his status as a narcotics agent.

He termed his double agent status as something like a "Jekyll-Hyde" existence. This overstates the case dramatically. There is nothing in White's history to suggest that he ever resembled Robert Louis Stevenson's kindly Dr. Jekyll. But in keeping with his self-image as a split identity White adopted a pseudonym under which he carried out his CIA functions. That name was "Morgan Hall."

Morgan Hall started his duties by convincing another narcotics agent—Pierre Lafitte, known as "The Pirate" in the bureau—to help him set up a "safe-house" in which to conduct experiments. In 1953 "The Pirate" and Hall/White rented a Greenwich Village apartment which they completely wiretapped.

Hall/White then proceeded to set himself up as a pimp, ostensibly in the national interest. He hired prostitutes to lure men from nearby bars to the bugged apartment, where the "johns" would be plied with LSD-spiked drinks. Their reactions were recorded for the CIA.

The LSD was given to the unsuspecting men in unique ways devised by Hall/White, who coated swizzle sticks with the stuff, injected it through corks into wine bottles with a syringe, and tried to spray the air with it.

In 1955 Morgan Hall/George White was transferred to San Francisco where he opened another apartment for his tests. Occasionally he managed to gather parties there for experiments. One of these parties would have been sprayed with his ingenious LSD aerosol if an over-eager agent hadn't sprayed himself with it in the bathroom.

George White's escapades as Morgan Hall lasted until 1966, when he retired and walked off with the furniture from the "safe-house."

The bizarre Morgan Hall/George White caper was merely a small aspect of the CIA's mind control program. Most of the CIA's energy and money was devoted to a network of private foundations, which knowingly carried out experiments on unsuspecting subjects. These foundations also acted as conduits for the CIA, transferring funds to several prominent hospitals, medical research centers and at least 44 universities.

ALL TOLD, 180 INSTITUTIONS WERE INVOLVED. More than 200 people were test subjects in LSD experiments conducted at the Boston Psychopathic Hospital alone. The number of subjects probably runs into the thousands. The CIA's intention, as always, was clear. A Harvard medical researcher, for example, was granted \$150,000 to study "the development and application of drugs which will aid in the establishment of psychological control."

One of the main CIA conduits was a foundation innocently calling itself the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology. Many university scientists took money from it believing that their studies were entirely independent. At no time did the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology reveal its hidden link with the CIA.

The Society itself conducted experiments, including tests to see what effects sensory deprivation had on people. This was in keeping with the CIA's program. A memo of the time wondered whether it would be possible to "get control of an individual to the point where he will do our bidding against his will and even against such fundamental laws of nature as self-preservation?"

Literally hundreds of CIA projects were completed at universities and hospitals without the researchers knowing who they were really working for.

The CIA was well aware that MK-ULTRA went beyond the normal bounds of academic research. In 1963

CIA Inspector General Lyman B. Kirkpatrick wrote in a report, "The concepts involved in manipulating human behavior are found by many people both within and outside the agency to be distasteful and unethical." Yet despite this warning, proffered pretty late in the game, the CIA continued with the program.

In fact, Kirkpatrick's qualms about MK-ULTRA are solidly based, since the U.S. is a signatory to the international standards formulated at the Nuremberg war crimes trials, which assert that medical experiments on humans are only to be undertaken for the good of mankind and with the full, informed consent of the subjects. It is not rhetorical then to state that the CIA in the MK-ULTRA case is guilty of war crimes, with the unusual twist that they were conducted mainly against Americans.

In 1972 the MK-ULTRA program ended, as far as can be determined. Dr. Gottlieb recommended its termination then, stating in a memo that the mind control tests had "less and less relevance to current clandestine operations." He added, "These materials and techniques are too unpredictable...to be operationally useful." Gottlieb's suggestion that MK-ULTRA be stopped came at the same time as his retirement.

Apparently acting on orders from then CIA director Richard Helms, Gottlieb destroyed all records of the MK-ULTRA tests. When the Senate Intelligence committee demanded these documents in 1976 the Agency claimed they simply didn't exist. But not all the MK-ULTRA file was shredded and burned, as John Marks later discovered. The Senate, however, was not as dilligent as Marks.

ONLY AFTER MARKS' INVESTIGATION began to pay off, with the admission by the CIA that it had indeed preserved intact many documents on the program, did the Senate again take the matter up. CIA director Stansfield Turner appeared before a subcommittee in September 1977 and called the drug experiments

"abhorrent." He claimed that the CIA never conducted tests on unwitting subjects after 1964.

Dr. Gottlieb followed Turner into the committee chamber as a witness. He claimed that he had been "victimized" by the CIA, since his was the only name of an Agency official that had been publicly released on the MK-ULTRA documents. He testified that Helms ordered him to destroy the MK-ULTRA papers, contradicting the Helms' testimony in 1975 that he never ordered the destruction of the mind control records.

Gottlieb also said that MK-ULTRA was reviewed every year by the CIA director. He stated that he personally briefed three directors on the program. When asked to characterize his work, he replied that it was "extremely unpleasant, extremely difficult, extremely sensitive, but above all...extremely urgent and important."

The strangest part of Gottlieb's testimony was his suggestion that President Richard Nixon, on a foreign trip in 1971, had been drugged, along with members of his entourage. Gottlieb claimed that he was called in to determine whether the drugging had actually occurred. He testified that those traveling with Nixon exhibited "inappropriate tears and crying," but that his findings were "inconclusive."

Dr. Walter Tkach, Nixon's personal physician, dismissed Gottlieb's story as sheer fantasy. Gottlieb, for his part, contended that Tkach was among those who might have been drugged.

The CIA, meanwhile, has allowed Gottlieb to twist slowly in the wind, a Washington practice that has become somewhat traditional. CIA director Turner is sticking to his account, which portrays the Agency as vaguely unwitting itself. His main defense is to dismiss the entire episode as something that is past. "This is history," he has said, as if history should be forgotten and left unexamined.

Sidney Blumenthal is Boston correspondent for IN THESE TIMES.



Stansfield Turner

A navy admiral, appointed by Carter as CIA Director. Is in the process of firing 500 top level operatives. Quiet about past abuses of the Agency.

Massacre

By Karen Wynn

How do you fire a spy?

With a pink slip, said Admiral Stansfield Turner as he laid off 200 of the Central Intelligence Agency's mid and top level clandestine services officers last December. Another 200 are expected to be axed this year.

Turner, named director of the CIA by President Carter a year ago, justified the cuts as necessary to clear the way for younger officers. Many of the fired officers have careers going back nearly 30 years to the Agency's founding days after World War II.

"I can't believe it," says a former clandestine support officer in Connecticut. "These men are at the top levels of the elite covert branch. CIA directors come from this group." A senior clandestine officer stationed in Europe added, "I don't know what the hell is going on, nobody does." The mood at CIA headquarters in Langley, Va., is described as bewilderment and anger.

Turner announced his intent to lay off employees in an October 31 memo within the Agency—now referred to as "Turner Halloween Massacre List"—but the names of those cut were not revealed until the two sentence pink slips came out in December. Astonished senior officers, including station chiefs, the equivalent position to the ambassadorial level abroad, were laid off. A class action suit to block further layoffs has been suggested by retired CIA officers.

The dismissals, says the Connecticut source, will leave the Agency purged of old-line liberals, many with strong congressional ties, who form the upper reaches of the clandestine services. In their place may come a new line of younger men to accept strong White House direction.

"What the Carter administration doesn't understand is that sometimes it is crazy to do the rational thing. You can reorganize all you like," he adds, "but you haven't come to terms with the fact that the CIA can't be controlled from outside. The best controls so far, little enough at that, have come from the liberal traditions of the older officers on the inside. They may be old-fashioned cold warriors, but they have enough class to stand up to the White House."

IN SPITE OF TURNER'S ASSURANCES, THE dismissals are interpreted as a slap at clandestine services whose plots against foreign leaders and drug experimentation programs are now major embarrassments to the CIA.

In recent years, under several CIA directors, technical operations such as spy satellites have been gaining ground over the expensive and relatively hard to assess clandestine service operations. CIA sources say the cur-

rent firings are further indication of such a shift in emphasis.

Nearly three-quarters of the CIA's 16,000 employees work in Washington in the agency's overt intelligence section, collecting material from more or less open sources such as newspapers or foreign publications.

Because there is no particular need for secrecy in the collection of this material overt branch employees make little effort to hide their affiliation. They may announce to neighbors that they "work for the government," Washington jargon for the CIA, but their credit card applications will say boldly, CIA.

The smaller portion of the CIA is the covert branch, a direct descendant of WWII OSS military espionage and consciously patterned on the British intelligence system—impeccable lineage in the eyes of covert employees who regard their branch as the real CIA.

The covert branch gathers secret information abroad, which it feeds back to Washington for eventual analysis and integration into an intelligence package of both covert and overt knowledge for the White House.

CIA employees charged with maintaining the flow of secret material from abroad are the case officers, young men in their 20s and 30s, recruited directly from colleges and universities.

Case officers have a roster of informants, called agents, who are usually foreign nationals. It is extremely rare for case officers to collect intelligence themselves. In addition to human sources of information, they use telephone taps and concealed information to collect information.

Successful case officers are promoted upward to "chief" at various levels: desk chief, branch chief, and eventually, the highest position abroad, station chief. These officers do not carry guns and their lives are not generally in danger unless their assignment is in a war area.

It is the case officer level of clandestine services that has provided the CIA with a steady stream of top echelon administrators, including CIA directors. And it is from this elite group of former case officers turned administrators that the Turner cuts are being made.

WHAT KIND OF MEN ARE THE OLD LINE clandestine officers? IN THESE TIMES asked CIA sources. Back came a fairly consistent picture of upper class, well-educated American liberals with a strong sense of mission to save the world.

"These are not new-style isolationist liberals," explained our Connecticut source, "but men who genuinely see a global role for the U.S. They feel that they have served their country well and at some sacrifice to themselves."

Wagner International Photos



Frank Snepp

Former senior analyst for CIA, served in Vietnam. Critical of Agency's actions there. Author of *Decent Interval*, published without prior approval. Being sued by U.S. Justice department.

"CIA work," he added, "has always been badly paid compared to industry, but perhaps most humbling for these somewhat arrogant men is that they have worked in obscurity, sometimes under a series of embarrassing cover stories. They have missed out on fame."

Counterbalancing the sense of self-sacrifice, however, he says, is the fact that espionage is "fun." "Where else but in government could you get someone to pay you for playing cowboys and Indians for all your adult life?"

Inside the CIA the firings will tend to break up alliances by which younger men attach themselves to older men with important overseas jobs to be handed out.

CIA recruits since the late '60s have tended to share the image of the U.S. active on a global scale to protect its interests and to see well-defined opponents to American policies, but they tend to have a conservative overall outlook rather than a liberal one. It is this group that is expected to benefit most from openings on the promotion ladder.

The older officers, say observers in Washington, are not likely to take the cuts lying down. While details of CIA activity usually surface years after the events are said to have ended, word of the dismissals appeared in the press within a week of the first pink slips.

Karen Wynn is a free-lance writer in Connecticut.

The Informer

By Ken Cummins

Frank Snepp is a former Central Intelligence Agency senior analyst. Frank Snepp is also very critical of the CIA. He revealed some of his criticisms in a recent book, *Decent Interval*, which charged that the Agency bungled the 1975 evacuation of Vietnam, and generally mismanaged and misjudged the character of the war in that Southeast Asian country.

Now the federal government is trying to financially ruin Frank Snepp and to set him up as an example for other disgruntled CIA agents who might write books or go public with their complaints.

Last month, at the request of the CIA, the Justice department filed suit against Snepp, seeking every cent he will make from the publication of *Decent Interval* and enjoining him against any further publication or speaking without prior CIA approval.

Underlying the suit against Snepp, CIA observers say, is the hope that a successful suit against his unauthorized book would silence nearly 500 long-term employees of the Agency who have been or soon will be fired by CIA director Stansfield Turner.

But success in the government suit against Snepp would also have a "devastating impact on responsible whistleblowing" throughout the government, warn lawyers for the American Civil Liberties Union, which is assisting in Snepp's defense.

"If this suit is successful, it will make it virtually impossible for people to write about—or even speak about—things that went on while they were in government," says ACLU attorney John Shattuck.

Turner reportedly began pressing Attorney General Griffin Bell to take some legal action against Snepp as soon as his book suddenly appeared on book store shelves last November. Prior to its surprise appearance CIA public information officers and director Turner has assumed that Snepp would abide by his contract with the CIA and submit the book for pre-publication review.

The book's claim that the CIA ignored intelligence forewarning of the Communist attack on Saigon, and its assertion that the Agency deserted its Vietnamese agents in the field in the hastened and chaotic evacuation have particularly rankled former high ranking CIA officials, including former director William Colby and former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Turner angrily labeled Snepp "not an honorable man."

DESPITE DIVIDED OPINION WITHIN THE upper echelon of the Justice department over the strength of the government's case, Turner pushed for the suit against Snepp as a test of the secrecy oath employees of the Agency are required to sign upon employment.

The issue of the CIA's ability to censor its former agents has become a highly sensitive one since Turner's decision last August to eliminate 820 CIA positions. This will result in the dismissal of nearly 500 higher-level agents involved in clandestine operations by the end of this year. More than 200 already have been notified of their impending terminations. (See accompanying story.)

"Many of them who have already gotten notices of dismissal or are anticipating notices are really upset about the procedure of dismissal and the way they were notified," says a former high-level CIA officer. "These men were good officers with longevity and good fitness reports. Threats run through the cafeteria and the hallways out there that 'I'm going to write a book!' One or two of them are even talking about a class action suit."

"They [Turner and his close advisers] have been fishing around trying to find some way to put a lid on this. The timing is right with Snepp and they think this is their strongest case."

The Justice department suit asks the court to force Snepp to hand over "all gains, profits, royalties and other advantages derived by the defendant" from the book's publication, "serialization, republication rights in any form, movie rights or other distribution for profit." It also seeks to have the court order Snepp

to submit all future articles, manuscripts and speeches to the Agency for prior review and possible censorship.

"I'm very convenient for Turner at the moment," Snepp says. "He claims that my book has damaged his ability to manage the Agency. But the truth is, he's a lousy manager. Turner wants to use me to set a negative example to those people being fired. If he wins, it will intimidate responsible whistle-blowers in the Agency. Nobody will speak out."

THE FOCUS OF THE GOVERNMENT'S LAW-suit is paragraph eight of the "Secrecy Agreement," which Snepp signed on Sept. 16, 1968, when he joined the Agency. That paragraph reads:

"Inasmuch as employment by the Government is a privilege not a right, in consideration of my employment by the CIA I undertake not to publish or participate in the publication of any information or material relating to the Agency, its activities or intelligence activities generally, either during or after the term of my employment by the Agency without specific prior approval by the Agency. I understand that it is established Agency policy to refuse approval to publication of or participation in publication of any such information or material."

Snepp claims he fully intended to abide by the terms of his secrecy agreement until a meeting with Turner last May 17 at which, he contends, the CIA director "tried to trick me into signing a new secrecy agreement." The 34-year-old ex-agent says he interpreted that move to mean that the oath he had signed earlier was not binding.

"I figured he was trying to play games with me and that made me mad as hell," Snepp says. "That's when I decided not to submit my book for review."

He says that when he signed the original agreement he asked whether the CIA had been involved in assassination plots and was told that it had not. Since his signing, information has surfaced that contradicts the Agency's denial.

"My government has been guilty of breaking its trust with me, not the other way around," Snepp says.

Turner argued the case for the CIA's "unequivocal" right to prior review in a statement published in the *Washington Post* Dec. 7. "The logical extension of the Ellsberg-Snepp syndrome is that any of our 210 million citizens is entitled to decide what should or should not be classified information," the CIA director concluded in his statement.

The suit does not contend that Snepp published any classified information in his book. He has denied that he revealed any sensitive sources and methods.

Attorneys for Snepp said they plan to present a defense of selective enforcement of the oath by the CIA.

"At the very moment I returned from Saigon [in 1975], Colby was leaking to the press to try to cover his tracks and ward off repercussions of the collapse," the former analyst who spent five years in the CIA's Saigon station charges. "Kissinger leaks secrets for political purposes. The secrecy agreement is one of the most elastic principles since supply and demand. [Former CIA director] Richard Helms used it to justify lying to Congress."

Attorneys for John Marks and former CIA officer Victor Marchetti unsuccessfully tried to argue selective enforcement of the prior review agreement when the Agency went to court in 1971 to obtain an injunction against their book, *The CIA and the Cult of the Intelligence*. The court upheld the secrecy oath at that time and the CIA was allowed to make 162 deletions from the book. The Snepp suit will be tried in the same court that allowed censorship of the Marks-Marchetti book.

"It's no accident that the CIA chooses to file its cases in Virginia rather than Washington," Marks says. "I don't think there's any question that the court is going to reaffirm the right to censorship. Snepp lost the suit once it was filed in Alexandria."

Ken Cummins is a free-lance writer in Washington.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Carter joins offensive against UMW

Despite President Carter's words of compassion and benevolence for the coal miners, he has placed the government and its armed might on the side of strike-breaking and union-busting in invoking the Taft-Hartley Act. A shaft is a shaft whether it comes with a smile or a snarl.

The President's action confirms John L. Lewis' indictment of Taft-Hartley 28 years ago as a "slave labor statute." In a showdown between capital and labor, the law stands on the side of involuntary servitude, in spite of its prohibition in the Constitution's Thirteenth Amendment.

By rejecting government seizure of the mines in favor of a Taft-Hartley injunction and a declaration of a "bargaining impasse," the administration is threatening to break the miners' strike and the power of their union.

Carter and Attorney General Griffin Bell emphasize that they intend to enforce their injunction. That means that during the 80-day "cooling off" period, picketing by miners is illegal. It means that the union and its leaders will be liable to fines and imprisonment for contempt of court if they continue their resistance. And it means that governors of the affected states and the federal government may use armed force against picketing workers to protect the production and movement of non-union—that is, scab—coal.

Declaring a "bargaining impasse" means that the corporations may release themselves from the obligation to engage in industry-wide bargaining, a crucial condition of the workers' unity and leverage against management, and seek to divide and conquer the workers through settlements on a company-by-company or local or regional basis.

Top government officials have in fact stated their hope that the workers' unity will collapse under the pressure of non-union coal deliveries and the playing them off one against another through frag-

mented settlements and production of some union-mined coal during the 80 day injunction period. The loss of food stamps and other benefits, and the arrival of spring and a lessened need for coal, it is hoped, will further weaken the workers' will and bargaining position.

From outrage to travesty.

The administration is not pressuring the corporations to alter their contract offer, but is attempting to coerce the workers into accepting a contract they have just overwhelmingly rejected. It is intervening to defeat this display of workers' democracy and to nip in the bud its potential spread to other unions.

The difference between the first contract proposal that failed to pass the union's bargaining council and the latest one is that between an outrage and a travesty. Being liberal, the Carter administration is seeking to impose the travesty.

Even the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* (March 7) concede that "if we were a coal miner we'd have voted against the proposed contract too." Upon analysis, the nominal 30 percent wage increase over the next three years turns out to be a real increase of 9.6 percent after higher social security and other taxes and an annual 6 percent inflation rate are taken into account. The proposed contract includes no cost of living adjustment (COLA) provision. If the inflation rate is higher, the real wage increase will be smaller, or disappear entirely.

On top of this, the proposed contract does away with the long-standing free health care program and requires miners to pay deductibles ranging from \$350 to \$700, and it retains inadequate pension benefits for miners retired before 1974—the fathers and grandfathers of working miners. Adding the deductibles and the expenses of caring for their elderly, the miners face what amounts to a management

"offer" of no real rise in income or an actual cut. Yet government economists have the nerve to say that the wage provisions may be inflationary.

The proposed contract would also shift the health program and, later, part of the pension fund, from its present industry-wide to a company-by-company basis thereby undermining workers' attachment to the national union. Though it deletes fines against "wildcat" strikers, it retains the corporations' power to fire or punish the wildcat leaders. Without the "wildcat" strike the workers are defenseless against unsafe conditions in an industry notorious for high occupational injury, sickness and mortality rates and corporate callousness to the miners' health, safety and loss of life.

In the meantime, the administration and Congress have agreed to give the oil and gas companies, among which are owners of some of the largest coal mines, whopping natural gas prices with guaranteed rights to raise the prices each year in accordance with the rate of inflation plus 3.5 percent more through April 1981 and 4 percent thereafter. Gas companies get COLA, the miners don't.

This is the settlement the administration is seeking to force upon the miners. The travesty is little different from the outrage.

A lesson in democracy.

The miners, at great sacrifice to themselves and their families, have maintained their solidarity, in spite of media images of miners' "affluence" and in spite of administration and business maneuvers to stampede public opinion against them with warnings of power cutbacks and massive layoffs. They have shown, moreover, that the rank-and-file democracy they have established since ridding themselves of Tony Boyle, is the surest guarantee of union strength and unity, what-

ever the quality of top union leadership, against even the most intense combined pressure from corporate arrogance and government power. This is a lesson that workers in other unions may well decide to apply.

Perhaps this is why leaders of other unions have been slow to come to the aid of the miners. The striking farmers of the American Agricultural Movement, earlier than most unions, sent a mile-long motor caravan with free food to the miners. The United Auto Workers subsequently donated \$2 million in relief funds to the UMW. And locals of various unions have been pitching in with money, food and rallies. More such aid is needed, and not only from other unions but also from all those who are on the side of labor's rights and workers' democracy.

But aid of a nonmonetary kind is also needed. The American Civil Liberties Union's suit challenging the Taft-Hartley injunction as a violation of the miners' civil liberties is one example. On a broader front, labor and its allies should recognize the struggle in coal as part of a general corporate offensive against unionism and a more just society. This offensive includes using the coal strike to generate hostility against labor and enough votes in Congress to defeat the Labor Law Reform bill and the Humphrey-Hawkins bill.

Labor and its allies need to inaugurate a broad political counter-offensive against corporate-power, educating working people in pro-labor and democratic values, developing popular coalitions, and electing people with such values to Congress and other offices. Such an offense is not only the best defense but in present times an unavoidable and necessary defense of workers' living standards and unionism itself.

The starting point is all-out support for the miners in their present battle. ■

Nazi march

On Thursday, Feb. 23, a U.S. District Court ruled that the Skokie, Ill., ordinances banning the wearing of Nazi uniforms and the dissemination of "offensive material" were unconstitutional. If upheld, the Nazis will be able to march in Skokie, as they have been trying to do for a year or more.

Last September, we argued that the ACLU was correct in defending the right of the Nazis to march. Some people criticized that position and implied that we were soft on racism, or just soft in the head. We said then that "racism cannot be ended by legal fiat or formal suppression," but only by "bringing the racists and their perverted ideas out into the open and combatting them in public struggles." We still hold to that, and are happy to see that others, including some who would ban the Nazi march, are planning a massive counter-demonstration in Skokie on the day of the Nazi march.

The plan, announced March 7 by leaders of the Jewish Federation of Metropolitan Chicago, is to have as many as 50,000 opponents assemble in Skokie to dwarf the Nazi march and to show solidarity with Skokie residents against Nazi racism. We hope that Governor Jim Thompson of Illinois (who has hopped on bandwagons lately in quest of the Republican nomination for president) will keep his promise of Feb. 22 to join any demonstration. Thompson said he "have got to show that they cannot demonstrate [in Skokie] with our moral blessing even if they have a legal right."

We agree. And we urge our readers to attend and to help in organizing the proposed counter-demonstration. ■



Rich Stromberg

Letters

In praise of volleyball

WHILE IN NEW YORK LAST week to attend the first meeting of urban bicycle advocacy groups, the cyclo-summit, I ran across a copy of *ITT* (Jan. 18). While reading it on the train returning to Montreal, I stumbled upon two articles by Mark Naison and Anita Diamant, "Sports need tension" and "Sports after Capitalism."

Socialists should choose their sports with care. And I fervently believe that volleyball is the team sport that is most in harmony with the convivial world we want to live in.

Volleyball is very accessible. It is easy. It can be played by women and men. It requires little money (a net and a ball) and takes up little space per participant. (Compare it with that bourgeois-backed sport of tennis, which usurps scarce urban park space at considerable public expense for two or four people.)

Volleyball is also against specialization, although in advanced competitive circles this has crept in against the spirit and intent of volleyball's founder. It is the only sport where your position and function change continuously.

It is also dialectical. If organized properly, for recreation and not competition and to maximize the conviviality, it has the capacity to change the participants. Mental institutions are aware of this as it is widely used in therapy. I have organized volleyball for four years now in a park in the city. After I wrote my report, the city adopted my proposals and it is now played, run by the city, in 12 parks every summer. I suggest that IN THESE TIMES install a volleyball court outside your offices.

—Robert Silverman
Montreal, Que.

Fighting mad

I AM FIGHTING MAD OVER DAN Marshall's scurrilous description of the Miners Right to Strike Committee (MRTSC) (*ITT*, Mar. 1). The otherwise admirable coverage of the miners' strike was marred by accusations that only provide ammunition for red-baiters within and outside the UMW.

The MRTSC is a small, militant caucus of rank and file miners whose intransigent defense of the right to strike has at times found a much broader resonance amongst younger mineworkers. It is also to my knowledge the only grouping within the UMW that is not tied to one or another section of the warring bureaucracy.

Unfortunately Marshall's article barely hints at the program, organization or support the MRTSC represents. Moreover, his criticisms fall totally outside even the most minimal sense of solidarity and—in my opinion—objectivity.

After having analyzed the resurgence of elements of the Boyle machine within the UMW, it is fantastic that Marshall can claim that the MRTSC is the "most controversial and potentially destructive" internal grouping within the union. At the same time by claiming that "MRTSC activities have also fueled a wave of red-baiting in coalmining areas," he seems to imply that the MRTSC must primarily be faulted for the escalation of anti-communism within the UMW. This is an extraordinarily naive view to say the least.

Marshall's attitude toward the MRTSC seems motivated by his belief that a serious rank and file opposition within the UMW can only grow through a coalescence of "secondary-level union leaders" with the sentiments of the base.

This perspective must be rejected—as the MRTSC appears to have done—because it only augurs the reconstruction of a new union machine. Even if

the MRTSC is as sectarian as some critics have asserted, it at least has fought for a permanent and independent mobilization of the rank and file outside of the present or future camps of the International Union bureaucracy. From this point of view, Marshall's position is not a rank and file perspective at all, but merely a prescription for a better and "more responsive" bureaucracy. The shades of John L. Lewis and Arnold Miller (soon to be departed) haunt solutions that stop short of the recognition of the need to build and maintain a truly independent rank and file movement.

—Mike Davis
Los Angeles

Best ever

LET ME HIGHLY COMMEND YOU all for the current issue (*ITT*, Mar. 1), obviously written by and for my kind of people. This paper is the most interesting and factually informative of any paper I have ever read. Even the letters to the editor appear, contrary to common expectation, of superior quality.

Matt Witt on "Low Coal" reminds me of my shipbuilding days, "hanging steel," working inside the inner bottom with hook bolts and spud wrench between the two-foot floors, the stifling darkness when the last piece of hull plate was dropped, the strain of lining up the lugs and bolt holes (helped by the pusher boss outside with a twenty-pound sledge). One worked fast at first as the big gantry could not be kept waiting. Later followed the arduous task of bolting the plate down to welding fit. Exit from the bow compartments was by a 15"x23" cut at frame five.

Yesterday I cashed my ITU monthly pension check for \$80.71 (I have worked at the printing trade since WWII). May I be permitted a twinge of envy for the \$250 miners? However, it is of utmost importance that the miners quickly find the solidarity and leadership so much in need today.

—Curtis S. Laughlin
Portland, Me.

Things went better with Coke

MERVYN JONES SHOULD STICK to Great Britain. His recent special report on India (*ITT*, Feb. 22) was bull-shit.

Two examples of error. First, Jones reports the CPI as "deep into self-criticism and trying to build bridges with Socialists..." This is mystifying. Which Communist party (CP) is Jones describing? There are three in India, the CPI (which remained allied with the Congress party/Emergency faction as Jones reports), the CPI-ML and the CPI-M (CPM). If he is describing the general state of the CP on the Subcontinent he is wrong. If he is describing the CPI he is wrong. If he is describing the CPM which controls the West Bengal government, as I assume from reading contextually, he is only half right.

The CPM is in a period of healthy self-examination, the other parties are not. As to building bridges with other parties, socialist or communist, Jones presents an erroneous portrait. A virtual state of siege exists between the leadership of the CPI and CPM in particular, and among the Indian left in general. The CPM, with its supremacy in Bengal and the discrediting of the CPI in the '77 elections, holds sway. It needs only to await the political demise of its opponents to solidify the left under its umbrella.

Second, the image of George Fernandes as a radical ex-union boss who, as Minister of Industry, pushes fearlessly ahead with progressive antimonopolistic, pro-labor programs, is crap! Fernandes was a radical when he was a railway union boss. But today he makes official pronouncements of this and that program to ameliorate the workers' plight. Blah. Blah.

The reason Fernandes has not been "meeting with political resistance" is simple. He's done nothing to make

waves save give emotional speeches to labor. Do his "small-scale non-urban enterprises" programs correspond to reality? Well, old George kicked Coca Cola out one day with great fanfare and publicity about the new government's anti-imperialist, anti-multinational, and anti-conglomerate policies. To lesser hoop-la, the next day he approved one of the largest multinational conglomerate trade and industrial development contracts in Indian history with TATA Enterprises. Coke had about 1 percent of their market in India, whereas TATA (analogous to GM) has about 90 percent. Sometimes "things go better with Coke."

—Mark H. Harvey
Bloomington, Ind.

The masses voted for the classes

THE "SPECIAL REPORT" FROM India" by Mervyn Jones (*ITT*, Feb. 22) reveals bias, inconsistencies and—let's be charitable—political naivete.

Jones exults in the Janata party's defeat of Indira Gandhi mainly on account of her abuses of liberties during the Emergency (forgetting that the opposition tried to overturn her government by extra-parliamentary means). He rejoices that "Indians have returned with zest to the practice of democracy." Jones finds himself in the company of a jubilant chorus of the ruling western capitalist circles, including our most reactionary congressmen. Those Janata sympathizers have been moved by their solidarity with their class kins in India, who were uncomfortable even with the timid reforms of Indira Gandhi.

What is the Janata party? 1) The Old Congress party with its leader Desai, the present Prime Minister, about whom Jones writes that his stand on the issues placed him on the conservative side in relation to Gandhi. 2) "Jan Sangh, a reactionary and Hindu-chauvinist movement" (Jones). 3) Swatantra party, which represented Indian big capitalists propagating "free enterprise."

By what kind of magic is it possible that the fusion of all these reactionary, capitalist parties could form a "democratic alternative" to Indira Gandhi? The addition to this amalgam of a forth part—the comparatively weak "Socialist party" could not change the reactionary class character of the Janata party.

The president of Janata (Jones writes) declared that "Mrs. Gandhi's policies were always fine," his objection being only about their "performance." There is no hope for the teeming millions of India for any radical change in their present miserable conditions. On the contrary, prices—which were stabilized during the Emergency period—have risen sharply, as the business people interpret their newly won "freedom." The birth control program in the course of the demagogic campaign against "forced sterilization" has been completely forsaken, which will create aggravated problems in the near future. And as far as the hailed democratic liberties are concerned—wait till the next confrontation of the new regime with the mass discontent of the Indian masses...

—Arthur Redler
New York

The real "cop-out"

SIDNEY LENS' CRITIQUE OF THE economic democracy movement (*ITT*, Feb. 22) was exasperating and, in my view, the real "cop-out." What would he have us do—repeat over and over "end the arms race, dismantle the national security state, plan the economy" and hope the masses are somehow converted?

The movement in California and elsewhere for economic democracy is doing the day to day work that is our only hope for a large and organized left. Anyone who has tried organizing people on issues like "Pax Americana," the falling value of the dollar, or "planning the

economy" knows that defining issues in these large terms leaves people nodding their heads in agreement about how awful things are—but with few opportunities for effective action.

I am bothered by the CED's refusal to use the word socialism. Some involved—such as Rep. Ron Dellums, who is a DSOC member, appear not to shirk from the obvious implication of their activities. However, if there were the equivalent of a Campaign for Economic Democracy in every state, things would look a whole lot better for the left than they do today.

—Bob Groves
Philadelphia

An uncompromising anarchist would not endorse us

SERIOUSLY DOUBT THAT EMMA Goldman would have endorsed *ITT*. An uncompromising anarchist who spoke out against repression and the false hopes of parliamentary or socialist government, (she was expelled from the U.S. and Bolshevik Russia), I'm sure she would have found your close attention to reform by ballot instead of direct action, and your myopic support of Eurocommunism as being too wishy-washy and misleading to endorse. Goldman believed in freedom, the opportunity to self-activity and self-expression. These are fundamental principles that no state can tolerate for long.

If you are going to call yourself a serious socialist newspaper, you better decide which principle you support—grass roots self control, or control and decision making from above by government. The latter has always obstructed the former.

—Pat Reed
Montreal, Que.

Darkness and light

ITT (FEB. 22) REPRINTED, WITHOUT comment, the call to arms of the Nicaraguan priest Gaspar Garcia Laviana. His statement warrants a second look, particularly in view of the article on the Somoza regime in the *Wall Street Journal*, Feb. 23.

Laviana pits the powers of light against the powers of darkness ("The participation of everyone in this insurrection will result in new light, and end the darkness of the Somoza dynasty.") with a simplifying rhetoric that obscures the political and economic intricacies of the fight against Somoza. According to the *Wall Street Journal*, Somoza's greatest threat comes, not from the Sandinistas, but from "the all-out entry of the country's elite, private-business leadership—largely educated at prestigious U.S. universities—into the struggle to depose him."

Opposition leaders—among whom are Nicaraguan entrepreneurs chafing because the blatant corruption of the regime has stymied the foreign investment necessary for the country's "unrealized growth potential"—are reported to be in close contact with the Carter administration and are "hoping and planning to step into the power vacuum and effect a stable transition."

There is something disquieting in finding "the side of Our Lord" also to be the side of American banks and multinationals. If Somoza is deposed to make Nicaragua safe for capitalism, then Laviana's "approaching redemption" is still a long way off.

—Maureen Mullarkey
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Editor's Note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

Alvah Bessie

Considered opinion

Doing something about it

That celebrated remark, alleged to have been made by Mark Twain, that "Everybody talks about the weather but nobody does anything about it," came to life in northern California for all of eight days in February. It didn't have anything to do with the weather. It revolved around another of those sacrosanct, godlike forces of nature about which people have also become convinced they can do nothing.

The mountain town of Westwood is near Mount Lassen, but the 2,500 people who live there are less concerned with the admitted beauty of their surroundings than they are with the hard time they are having keeping body and soul together. This is a lumbering town and in the winter 80 percent of the workers are unemployed because the six lumber mills in the area are shut down.

So, hard-pressed as the people are, they have not been taking kindly to the soaring cost of living, any more than other Americans all over our disUnited States.

The difference between the inhabitants of Westwood and the rest of us is simply this: They did something about it.

People have always said, "You can't fight City Hall." People complaining about the ever-rising bills they get from Ma Bell are told, in effect, "Start your own telephone company." (As any child can tell you, you can do it, too. All you need are two tin cans and a string.)

The citizens of Westwood got furious when their electric light bills started to double during the last year, and then tripled. They were averaging between \$50 and \$100 a month and some ran as high as \$200.

One retired laundry operator, 82 years old and with a total income of \$300 a

month from the Veterans Administration and Social Security, received a light bill for \$113. An unemployed lumberman with a family of four besides got his unemployment check of \$240 a month—and a utility bill for \$80.

The people of Westwood first drew up a petition to the company, California-Pacific Utilities. They were ignored. They talked to politicians and got nowhere. So three housewives—and let their names go down in history—Paulette Benner, Pauline Asmus and Patty McCormac, wrote a letter to their local mimeographed weekly, *The Pinecones Press*.

"Turn off your power!" they implored the community in the issue that appeared on Feb. 10. They suggested that the blackout run from Lincoln's birthday to Washington's—and the town responded. The lights went off all over Westwood in Lassen County, and astonishing things happened:

- Deprived of their television sets, people started to visit each other, talk to each other, organize pot-luck dinners;

- They bought up all the wood and oil-stoves they could find, as well as candles, camp-stoves and ice-chests;

- One man took the food out of his refrigerator, packed it into a mailbox and buried it in the frozen earth of his yard;

- One plumber ran the pipes for his shower through a wood-stove, then complained with delight that "Everybody seems to be taking their showers at my place. All I ask is that each of them bring a log."

- The residents of Westwood began getting telephone calls from all over the country from people who were not only sympathetic to their plight, but who expressed

their solidarity by saying they were going to turn off their own lights. The organizers of the blackout, *Mesdames* Benner, Asmus and McCormac, were interviewed by newspapers in San Jose, California, St. Louis, Missouri, and even London, England;

- The British radio-commentator who called Asmus congratulated her on "the terribly American way you citizens are handling your problem."

Interviewed in his San Francisco office, the executive vice-president of California-Pacific said he had "tremendous sympathy" for the plight of the people in Westwood. He said his company's rates were not out of line—it buys its power from California's monster PG&E, and sells it at rates approved by the California Public Utilities Commission (natch). He blamed it all on the drought.

The poor man said, "...our company, believe me, is also feeling the squeeze. We are not making anywhere near the profit we are entitled by the PUC to make." (Think of that!)

He even offered this finely-honed piece of thinking: "If there is a failure in Westwood, it is a failure to help needy people meet their needs. A utility shouldn't be doing that. That's the job of the government."

Said Thomas Jefferson, a disreputable revolutionary who was once hounded through the streets of Philadelphia for being "a French agent": "I hold a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical."

Said one lumberman, huddled with friends around a couple of kerosene lamps in Westwood, "Our efforts may be as

revolutionary as the Boston Tea Party. We are people who believe in what we are doing."

The results of this eight-day rebellion in Shasta County, California? The California Public Utility Commission announced "a probe"; California-Pacific started to mail out credits for overcharges, admitting to 1,644 overbillings in the area.

A spokeswoman for the PUC said California-Pacific had programmed its computers incorrectly; had read meters irregularly. It was also discovered that the company had been sending a lot more electricity into the community than was needed. The company said it wasn't so, but if it *had*, it "may have been" in response to complaints from some customers that they had received too little!

As of the last week of February the blackout was over but some Westwood people had decided to see if they can get along without electricity anyhow and it was certain that the rates of the rest will be "adjusted."

Added irony: PG&E, the Ma Bell of the gas and electric monopoly, on Feb. 23 said that with the drought (which had caused the exorbitant bills to Westwood customers—or had it?) being over, it was applying to the PUC to *reduce* its rates by \$98.3 million a year! This would amount to a saving of 73¢ a month to its customers—a practically revolutionary thing to do, on the face of it.

Or is it?

Alvah Bessie is a novelist, critic and screenwriter who was involved in the Spanish Civil War as a soldier of the Republic and was a member of the Hollywood 10.



Stanley Aronowitz

You can't kill a culture like you can kill a union

The membership of the United Mine-workers Union has now overwhelmingly rejected the tentative contract agreed to after an unprecedented 81 days of strike. In many ways the contract that has now been rejected follows the classic pattern of post-war labor relations. Like other struggles, the issues were only secondarily wages and benefits, although the problem of a health program for miners assumes greater importance than in most other industries because of the almost routine occupational hazard of black lung disease for miners. The key question that provoked the strike was the workers' right to strike a mine over health and safety.

This year the employers, now dominated by a few oil corporations, believed that the time had come to end unauthorized walkouts. They demanded penalties against miners who led and participated in provoking wildcat strikes, including fines and discharges. With the union weakened at the top after Arnold Miller's minority victory over two opponents, and serious output reductions in the unionized part of the industry, the coal employers were taking the calculated risk that they could get away with rolling back traditional miner militancy. Needless to say, the attempt failed because the militancy is not rooted in economic interest alone, but also in a culture of working-class solidarity that is at least one hundred years old. Generations of miners have held to the principle that crossing the picket line is a cardinal sin, analogous to committing sodomy with your union brother's wife.

You can't kill a culture like you can kill a union or an individual. The miners may approve this or another version of the negotiated contract, but it will take more than legalisms to persuade them to go back on their time-honored code of daily behavior.

The pattern of other settlements that is represented in the contract is to exchange high wages and good benefits for workers' control over working conditions. It's the old steelworkers and autoworkers story—hegemonic in all basic and monopoly industries, except coal. The loss of the right to strike over everyday shop floor grievances was among the main signs of the weakening of the post-war trade unions. The traditions begun in the organizing campaigns of the 1930s, job actions and a rank and file steward system, were replaced by binding arbitration on grievances and the dominance of full-time officials over union affairs. When the major coal companies became subsidiaries of the oil corporations in the 1970s, new labor relations rules followed in an attempt to bring coal in line with other industries. But the miners' culture and traditions could not be bought for 80 dollars a day and health benefits.

I talk from personal experience. In 1964-66 I was chair of a Committee for Miners that raised funds chiefly from progressive unions, sent organizers into the coalfields of southeastern Kentucky and provided legal aid to union militants in the area. The committee formed in response to wildcat strikes provoked after the union had threatened to abandon the

Miners Memorial hospitals that were financed by health and pension funds to care for sick and injured miners and their families. The CFM was helpful to the wildcats that spread throughout Kentucky and West Virginia in response to the Tony Boyle administration's brutal withdrawal from the fields. The miners' culture is a singing and dancing culture as well as one of struggle. It is rooted in hearts and minds of the whole community, not only those who go down in the pits. The miners' leaders are sometimes retirees who prematurely leave the fields because they contract "the sickness" at the age of 50 or younger. Sometimes, young miners returning from military service are thrust to the forefront of their struggles. The "union" is both the formal organization and the informal networks of miners that stretches across counties where some "old boy" who is the cousin of someone in this mine can easily be contacted when trouble starts.

The informal networks make possible frequent wildcat strikes of as many as 25,000 miners in four counties and two states. A mine disaster occurs in one place and the protest spreads within days. Roving pickets appear at the pit head at the start of a shift and everybody goes home. Sheriffs' deputies remain out of sight because they know it would be dangerous to appear.

With oil companies taking over the bulk of the large coal mines, smaller operators are no longer able to sell their coal at prices at which they can make money. Coal is beginning to be a mon-

opoly. The biggies undercut the private structure in order to swallow up the small companies, then jack up prices. The big mines can also mechanize faster because they have capital and the small companies are struggling to stay alive using old equipment. Like other industries, the large companies are looking to the union to discipline the work force, and have not discovered that it's not in Miller's power to perform such miracles.

A recent *Wall Street Journal* report on coalfield wars predicted that the strike would be used to speed licenses for nuclear energy projects. The argument will rest heavily on the "national interest," a phrase heard often in labor negotiations in big industry. One of the intended (or unintended) consequences of the struggle may be a new drive to persuade Americans that a "safe" source of energy must be found to replace coal. Since oil and utility companies are important promoters of nuclear and oil exploration projects, it should surprise nobody that this strike may become the prelude to the attempt to destroy the miners' culture by replacing coal as a key energy resource. It's going to take a long time. There are a lot of coal wars ahead, because neither strip-mining nor other fuels are sufficient to replace bituminous pit mining for years to come. As hungry as the miners may be, no-strike provisions will never be accepted, even if they are paid \$100 a day. ■

Stanley Aronowitz is Professor of Comparative Culture in the Social Science School, University of California-Irvine.

PERSPECTIVES

□ FOR A NEW AMERICA □

Neither cop-out nor cuckoo

By Derek Shearer

I framed my piece on economic democracy (*ITT*, Feb. 8) in a provocative way to stir debate about political strategy for the left. I'm happy that Sidney Lens has responded with his views (*ITT*, Feb. 22).

It is difficult to deal with a complex subject like "What Is To Be Done?" in the space available for Perspective pieces. I'm certain that Sidney knows that Tom Hayden and I share his concerns on the arms race and the national security state. Tom has written books and articles on American foreign policy and risked long jail sentences for his opposition to U.S.

policies in Indochina. I co-authored a book called *The Pentagon Watchers*. I've also written on the economics and politics of converting to a peace-time economy. Other CED members share this outlook. Bill Zimmerman, who was Tom's campaign manager in the Senate race, headed Medical Aid to Indochina, and Fred Branfman, the man behind SolarCal, was director of Project Air War for many years. The Hayden campaign document "Make the Future Ours" called for a drastic reduction in the military budget and outlined a new "humanist" foreign policy for the country.

Given these shared concerns, where

do we differ with Lens?

The answer is not over long range goals, but over political strategy.

Lens says that our economic democracy strategy has "two obvious and glaring defects: first, it addresses itself to lesser problems rather than the central ones; second, it delays and avoids confrontation with the national power structures that are responsible for today's problems."

We believe that the only way to alter American foreign policy and cut the military budget is by winning political power and transforming the institutional arrangements (which are, in large part, economic) that require a militaristic and im-

perialist foreign policy. *Democratizing the economy is central to this task.*

Corporatism is the issue.

As Ralph Nader recently said, "The issue is corporatism." Only by diminishing corporate power and ultimately democratizing it, can we hope to change the U.S. relations with the world.

The point about supporting alternative economic institutions, which I thought I'd made clear in my article, is not that they are the answer—but that they are both models for a democratic economy and training grounds for us. How can we talk seriously about governing if we don't have people with political and technical experience—and where will these people come from if we don't develop them ourselves?

Furthermore, it has been our experience that a majority movement for change cannot be built solely around foreign policy issues and nuclear disarmament. Years of trying by numerous well-meaning peace groups attest to this. Lens is wrong in thinking that it is possible to build "a political constituency by attacking the national security state."

The economic issues have to be dealt with in a positive manner before working people are going to risk their livelihoods supporting such a political movement. Perhaps Lens agrees that a full employment program is a key part of any program for dismantling the military-industrial complex.

Finally, Lens claims that our strategy "delays and avoids confrontations with the national power structures." Of course it does, which is only sensible given the strength of the left at this time. The confrontation politics of the 1960s did help end the war (with a lot of effort on the part of the Vietnamese), but they did not result in cutting the military budget or in seriously changing American foreign policy.

We're trying to formulate and test a more enduring strategy. We may be wrong—but the only way to find out is political practice.

Lens says the "Hayden-Shearer panacea is a cop out." I find this unkind and uncharitable. But more troubling is Lens' failure to offer an alternative strategy. Is he for a leftwing third party? Does he support Michael Harrington and DSOC? Does he agree with Bill Domhoff's proposals for running socialists in the 1980 primaries?

I hope that others who think we Californians are a bit cuckoo will suggest concrete things to do when we get up in the morning.

—Derek Shearer
Santa Monica, Calif.

Another WSP view of SALT

By Edith Villastrigo

Today more than ever we face a spiraling and costly arms race that, unless stopped, may end in nuclear war, as predicted by many eminent scientists.

How do we stop this suicidal trend toward nuclear holocaust? How do we counteract the concerted, well-organized and well-financed campaign of the military/industrial lobby to continue the arms race and bring back the confrontation tactics of the Cold War?

The Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) can help create both military and political conditions for the avoidance of nuclear war. The SALT process is a major part of a broad effort to decrease international tensions, defuse U.S.-Soviet hostility by building a web of relationships in a wide range of fields—trade, science, medicine, industrial technology, sports and culture—in short, detente.

It is essential that the Senate ratify the SALT II Treaty after it is signed by the U.S. and the Soviet Union for the follow-

ing reasons:

- For the first time since the beginning of the SALT talks in November 1969, there will be a treaty limiting strategic offensive arms. The so-called SALT I agreement was only a five-year executive agreement. This treaty indicates that both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are serious about halting the strategic arms race. Thus the very existence of the SALT II Treaty on offensive arms is a major step in international law, paralleling the ABM Treaty of 1972, which was on strategic defensive arms.

- Also for the first time since SALT began, there is an agreement to limit all strategic offensive weapons. The Interim Agreement of 1972 limited only ICBMs (Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles) and SLBMs (Sea-launched Ballistic Missiles). The proposed SALT II Treaty will limit those two strategic weapons plus heavy bombers, MIRVs, and strategic cruise missiles.

- A major provision of the SALT II Treaty is the three-year PROTOCOL,

which limits strategic cruise missiles and heavy missiles and bans the deployment of new strategic weapons systems.

- Failure to ratify the SALT II Treaty could and probably would lead to a major unlimited strategic arms race, the development and production of new "first strike counterforce" weapons (MX mobile missile, Mark-12 warhead, etc.), and add as many as 7,000 new nuclear weapons to US-USSR arsenals by 1985. (From the Center for Defense Information Monitor, July 1977.) This would result in a greater risk of outbreak of nuclear war, intensify pressures for the spread of nuclear weapons and at a minimum cause the expenditures of many tens of billions of dollars more on unnecessary strategic arms.

- Finally, and most important, SALT II will set the stage for SALT III, in which both sides will be committed, again for the first time, to negotiate substantial mutual reductions in strategic arms. ■

Edith Villastrigo is National Legislative Coordinator of Women Strike for Peace.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

Brinksmanship

When NBC's John Chancellor was chief of the U.S. Information Agency he was accredited with trying to restore the appearance of balance in what many call America's official propaganda vehicle. His colleague David Brinkley can't be accused of the same concern. His performance as straight man to NBC's paid analyst, Henry Kissinger, recently drew fire from experts on the European political situation, the main topic of the 90 minute Kissinger lecture.

Harvard professor Stanley Hoffman noted "There were outright lies. There were distortions of truth and innumerable false innuendos." He tabulated at least 34 instances of what he called "tricks in the text of the final script." Excluding commercial interruptions that calculates to more than one Kissinger lie every three minutes. This is a valuable statistic and may prove useful as a yardstick when viewing future NBC-Kissinger specials.

David Brinkley was unashamed of his role as Kissinger accompanist. Responding to Hoffman's attack, Brinkley said in a letter to the *New York Times* that Hoffman "does not know, or does not understand, what he is writing about."

Brinkley sought to clarify things. Communists can never be trusted, he said, and everyone he has talked to about this agrees with him. However, Brinkley failed to answer a single challenge to the program's veracity. He termed it "reasoned critical questioning."

Hoffman responded, calling the NBC show "propaganda." "Of Mr. Brinkley, one would expect better," he wrote.

Why?

All in the Family

Every rating point a network garners means millions of dollars. Fierce competition has led NBC to fire ABC's programming director, Fred Silverman, the genius responsible for *Happy Days* and *Laverne and Shirley*. Shake-ups have occurred at every network.

Norman Lear, producer of a string of television hits from *All in the Family* to *Mary Hartman*, has frequently been pointed to as an example of the networks' willingness to accommodate new ideas. But now Lear himself believes that the profit motive has created a "state of fear" among network programmers.

In a talk reported in *Broadcasting* magazine, Lear claimed that a "Wall Street Climate" dominates television, stifling creative talent. A rigid ratings race keeps new ideas out of the networks, he said. Lear added that the print media are accomplices to this process by emphasizing the importance of ratings, thereby magnifying the effect they have on television.

"The message is always there, at least subliminally—winning and losing, winning and losing. I think it's a disservice to our viewers."

He offers no practical solutions, though.

Former ad man Jerry Mander, in his new book, *Four Arguments For the Elimination of Television*, suggests that there may not be any. He argues that television inherently flattens experience and is incapable of enlightening the public.

Mander's most cogent contention deals with the physiological effects of television on the viewer, a subject about which there has been hardly any research. He digs up the facts that do exist, which imply that television is actually a form of sensory deprivation and hypnosis. It has, he claims, long-range deleterious effects on human intelligence.

Pure Television

If television itself has unique technological properties, it has also created its own tele-professionals who are constant-

(off the record)

By Sidney Blumenthal and Danny Schechter



ly perfecting the techniques of keeping the public mesmerized. These techniques are as prevalent in news and documentary programs as they are in entertainment shows.

Take news magazines. The success of *60 Minutes* as the first news magazine to break the top ten ratings barrier has inspired other networks to field their own versions. NBC, for example, plans to bring *Weekend* out of its once a month late Saturday night ghetto into prime time.

Some TV critics see the news magazines as a promising development, a novel way of enlightening the audience. But the outlook of the producers of such shows suggests no intention of changing television or the way people think. Reuven Frank, a former president of NBC News and now *Weekend's* producer, spells this out quite candidly in an article in *Television Quarterly*, the journal of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences.

"Above all," Frank writes, "we were not out to change the world, to raise the masses to our own exalted levels, to parade our superiorities. (We are sufficiently secure in our superiorities not to need to.)"

Frank's primary objective is to create an entertaining package, which has no point of view, revels in eclecticism and is mildly iconoclastic for its own sake. "When you have engaged the viewer one way, then you come up on his other side," he explains. "All people are funny; all stories are sad. Television stories must move from here to there. Every program should have a piece which seems to imply that there is someone somewhere who wishes we hadn't done it. Process can be as interesting as result."

Frank goes on to cite *Weekend's* investigative pieces as examples of the way in which the program establishes its style and tone. Investigative reporting is not a commitment except as a method of riveting the audience. "We are not investigative reporters," he boasts. "We belong to no organizations of crusading journalists."

Technique is triumphant over content. Frank says, "*Weekend* had been pure television." Among the "pure television" techniques Frank is proud of is the use of two or three-line jokes which he calls "verbals" that precede and follow commercials. Frank knows that these are obnoxious intrusions and elicit numerous

complaints from viewers—that's the intention. It's a way of keeping viewers glued to the set and measuring whether or not they're watching. If they complain, Frank is happy because he knows they're there.

These "verbals" are an old advertising gimmick, known in the trade as "technical events." As Jerry Mander explains in his new book calling for the abolition of television, "Each technical event—each alteration of what would be natural imagery—is intended to keep your attention from waning as it might otherwise. The effect is to lure your attention forward, like a mechanical rabbit teasing a greyhound. Each time you are about to relax your attention, another 'technical event' keeps you attached." Mander says that there are 20 to 30 technical events per minute in television ads, 8 to ten per minute in commercial programs and only two to three on public television.

The proliferation of the news magazine format does not necessarily mean that the networks are now committed to scheduling more information oriented programming. The magazine format might actually herald the debasement of the more serious documentary form, substituting zappy features for extended examination. This process may further narrow and fragment consciousness.

Dirty Tricks, Inc.

If nothing else, H.R. Haldeman's book, *The Ends of Power*, has proved that Watergate is still a marketable item.

The media would appear to prefer that the public focus on the questionable stories Haldeman tells in his tome, such as whether the Russians tried to entice the U.S. into joining them in nuking China. But the deeper issue raised by the Haldeman memoir is the role of the press itself in converting a dubious news story into a commercial property. The New York Times Company has handled Haldeman the way a baseball free agent is handled by his lawyer.

Consider: Times Books, a New York Times subsidiary, suggests the project to Haldeman, complete with a generous advance. Haldeman can't refuse the offer because it comes with a ghost writer, Joseph DiMona, and an editor, the exalted Clifton Daniel, former Times editor.

Nearly \$1 million is lined up by the Times in syndication rights. A carefully orchestrated promotion campaign is launched that emphasizes the secrecy of the project, awakening dormant public interest. The networks pick up the publicity and transmit it as news, alerting the public to expect a bombshell. Haldeman, a convicted perjurer, gains credibility. *Newsweek*, a Washington Post affiliate, buys excerpts for \$125,000.

As with every Watergate story there is a leak, or at least a theft. A Washington Post reporter penetrates the security curtain erected by the Times and heists the story. A week before the Times' blitz is to commence the Post splashes the Haldeman story on page one. The Times' sense of morality is offended. A Sunday editorial condemns the Post's daring enterprise as a "second-rate burglary." (Ron Ziegler once called Watergate a "third-rate burglary"). The stakes have risen.

Curiously, this may be the most successful dirty trick Haldeman has ever played on his traditional enemies in the Eastern press. Not only has he received enough money to live affluently until his retirement, but he has gotten the Times and Post to bicker openly with each other in a way that he couldn't engineer when he held actual power. Could Haldeman be the Deep Throat leaker to the Post in this incident?

Sidney Blumenthal is IN THESE TIMES' Boston correspondent. Danny Schechter is a Nieman Fellow in Journalism at Harvard University.

Big coal changes

Continued from page 4.

owned by Standard Oil of California, rose to the number three position because of its almost total reliance on strip-mining "steam grade" coal used by utilities.

• Island Creek Coal, controlled by Occidental Petroleum, accounted for about 19 million tons in 1975. Most of its production is from deep mines in Appalachia. The president of Island Creek, when it was bought by "Oxy," pledged to open 21 new mines and triple production by 1975. Instead their tonnage decreased 25 percent and six mines were shut down. Where did Big Oil's investment capital go? To finance the expansion of oil production facilities in Libya and the North Sea.

Thus the coal industry is increasingly dominated either by oil companies or by high-productivity, low-cost strip miners.

This industry concentration is even more dramatic in terms of coal reserves, a measure of who will dictate future coal production. Some 24 oil and gas companies now control over 77 billion tons of domestic reserves. Oil controls about one-half of all the reserves owned by coal producers in the marketplace.

Industry twists and turns.

What does the monopolization of the coal industry and its turn towards strip-mining mean to current and future negotiations with the UMW? If national bargaining breaks down, coal companies that are parts of larger firms will be able to withstand strikes more easily, thus cutting the union's economic clout. In addition, most of the new strip mines will open in the West, where the UMW has met little organizing success. This situation presages a further decline in the union's share of national coal production.

These developments also begin to explain industry twists and turns that have prolonged the negotiations and infuriated miners and the government. There does not appear to be a direct correlation between the bargaining positions of particular industry representatives and whether their companies are oil-owned. Their differing stances have tended to flow rather from the kind of production they primarily engage in: deep-mining, strip-mining, or producing metallurgical coal for steel.

The deep-mine companies are among the most hard-line in their contract demands. Many are small firms whose production is still concentrated in Appalachia, where recent wildcat strikes have been concentrated. Unlike some of the larger companies, their working conditions and labor relations policies often resemble the stone age. In order to successfully compete with the big boys they require the kind of "labor stability" that permits uninterrupted production. In addition, since most of their coal is sold to utilities or on the "spot market," where prices fluctuate according to supply and demand, they can readily pass on wage increases.

The interests of these companies were of prime concern to Joe Brennan, the industry's first bargaining chief. A former UMW research director, Brennan made hard-line speeches last spring about how "industrial anarchy" in the coalfields

threatened to destroy national bargaining.

But at the bargaining table Brennan was apparently too clumsy and "soft" to accurately represent the powerhouses in the BCOA. "Everytime Miller or a union man made an emotional argument, Brennan would think about his dad in the Anthracite," says a source close to the talks. "He was much too willing to listen to the miners' point of view. I don't think that Brennan ever felt he could really be a spokesman for the industry."

Soft and hard lines.

In late January, as the strike dragged on and talks stagnated, industry critics replaced Brennan with Roderick Hills, the chairman of Peabody Coal, who has a "liberal," new-kid-on-the-block image among coal executives. As the head of a major strip-mining firm Hills could afford to be a bit more "soft-line."

Peabody operates union and non-union mines, many in the West, so their output has not been as adversely affected by the strike. Strippers are also not faced with labor problems analogous to the deep-miners, since they employ fewer workers in generally less hazardous conditions. They also make high profits with which to pay high wages and benefits. Hills was thus able to cut the first deal: the tentative agreement that restored the cost of living clause and slightly moderated penalties for wildcats.

When the union's bargaining council rejected that settlement, the BCOA rolled in their big guns. Bargaining was taken over by Bruce Johnston of U.S. Steel, the ultimate hard-line hatchet man. Steel and other metallurgical coal producers were in no hurry to settle the strike since demand for steel is low. They were also more likely to resist large wage increases because they could not easily pass on the higher costs.

When President Carter ordered both sides back to bargaining, under White House auspices, Johnston raised his middle finger in defiance. In a blistering letter to Carter Johnston refused to resume negotiations and told Carter to convene a White House meeting with the union, which had to get its "house in order." Within hours Johnston was overruled by Edgar Speer, the chairman of U.S. Steel, and other Big Steel executives who were in the process of cutting their own deal with Carter over foreign steel imports.

In pretty desperate straits the BCOA next summoned Nicholas Camicia, a former coal miner from West Virginia who heads the Pittston Co., the fifth largest producer and one of the few not owned by outside interests. While most of their coal comes from Appalachia, the company has embarked on a program to strip-mine western coal, mix it with met coal, and sell it to utilities. Camicia was the chief negotiator in the 1974 talks.

"A lot of industry people grumble that the 1974 contract gave away too much money," comments one source. "One side of the industry saw Camicia as a give-away artists. But they basically had to fall back on him to cut the final deal. He's also very well respected among the old-timers—the coal people as opposed to the oil or steel people."

Under Camicia's direction, and with intense White House pressure on Big Steel, coal industry negotiators very reluctantly accepted the P&M settlement. Since this second tentative contract has been rejected, the industry's latest move lays in ruins.

While a lot of bickering has consumed the industry side of the coal negotiations, divisions between companies should not be overemphasized. The operators still present a united front when it comes to punitive measures to stop wildcats and the destruction of the union's industry-wide health and benefits program.

What is the possibility that the BCOA

will self-destruct in the near future? That question has been discussed in recent BCOA gatherings, observers say, but no companies have yet split off to negotiate separate contracts with the UMW.

The companies most likely to leave the BCOA are the big strippers. Production and consumption of their coal is already concentrated in regional-defined areas, so they would have little trouble coming to regional agreements. Because of their high profit margins, they could offer very tempting bones to the union. If the union bites, it may mean the end of the UMW as a nationwide labor organization. ■

Marseilles votes left

Continued from page 9.

the Ivory Coast. About 200 of these ballots have been annulled by court order; 2,000 others have been admitted onto the rolls. The affair has gotten bogged down in appeal and will not be decided until after the elections.

Strangely absent from all the electoral hullabaloo are the immigrants, who nonetheless make up 13 percent of Marseilles' population. A majority of these are North African workers. Marseilles has a nasty reputation as a place where racial hatred flares up every few months, even among organized workers. No visitor to Marseilles can avoid being struck by the Porte d'Aix district, a veritable ghetto where rents are somewhat lower than elsewhere, but where living conditions are deplorable.

The local left, for all its numerical strength, has remained ambiguous on the question of immigrants' rights. The

Socialists and Communists have often denounced instances of police brutality, arbitrary identity checks, and use of police dogs, which have become alarmingly frequent. The two parties have also declared their opposition to anti-immigration measures recently announced by the government. However, they are much more hesitant when it comes to organizing any militant actions against racism. Their main concern, especially in recent weeks, has been to build up their image of "respectable" parties, capable of responsible government.

All the polls in recent weeks have predicted a left victory. But once the votes are counted and the new government formed, the battle will only begin for the application of progressive policies. Nowhere is this more apparent than here in the balmy south of France. ■

Jim Cohen is an assistant teacher at a high school in Marseilles.

FAIR IS FAIR

Continued from page 24.

Louisville, Ky.) is a little bothered. He opines that that's true enough, democracy means everybody is equal, but Jackie is the only black guy in the league and is catching some special grief because of that, so it isn't really equal for him. His instinct is for the white Dodgers to somehow help make it more equal.

And just one more recollection linking "in here" and "out there."

1948. The less remembered Larry Doby, first black in the other league, tells me of his first road trip with Cleveland. Washington, D.C., The Shoreham Hotel, with no history of registering black guests. Doby asks teammate Joe Gordon what he should do. "You're with the team, aren't you?" says Gordon. "Just come up with me and register."

A little Hollywoodish Gentleman's Agreement scene as the flustered hotel clerk says excuse me and goes to confer with someone. He comes back. "Sign here, Mr. Doby." That was that. As Joe Gordon had said, Doby was with the team, wasn't he? You going to fight the big league Cleveland Indians?

This hotel ice-breaking was repeated in various cities. The Santa Rita Hotel in Tucson, Ariz., where the Indians trained, did "fight the Cleveland Indians" for two years while the black players stayed elsewhere. A vigorous campaign by local fans, sparked by the old Civil Rights Congress, changed that. The swank Chase

Hotel in St. Louis was a "never" until the hotel clerk said "Here's your key, Mr. Robinson."

So, for sure, let's celebrate the magical "in here" quality of the baseball field, and include in the celebration the fact that it has played a role in improving a few things "out there." ■

Lester Rodney was sports writer for the Daily Worker for many years. He now writes from California.

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ART «» ENTERTAINMENT

Records

WEEKEND IN L.A.
George Benson
(Warner Brothers)

No one can begrudge George Benson the success he's worked so long and hard for (14 years before his first popular triumph, the best-selling *Breezin'*). His cross-over from virtuoso jazz guitarist to up-front, smooth vocalist has done wonders for his career. But as *Weekend in L.A.* demonstrates, it hasn't expanded his musical horizons.

In the interest of pleasing his new-found audience, which wants to be lulled by his MOR voice and pleasant low-key accompaniments, Benson has compiled a double album of carefully arranged, but overblown songs that all seem to be interpreted in the same, smiling, California-cool tone.

His nine-minute version of "On Broadway" is a case in point, and his crooning of "It's All in the Game" and "Lady Blue" turns the music into tensionless back-up sounds, which is too bad because the connection between a vocalist and top-notch jazz ensemble can and should produce superior work. Instead, the band gets lost in its attempt to push Benson's new image as an inferior Stevie Wonder.

Weekend in L.A. comes off as the perfect music for piping into dentists' offices and department stores. But it's making audiences happy, and it's mainstream audiences that dictate many entertainers' directions. For the moment it appears that Benson is content to satisfy their demands.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann teaches at Eastern Illinois University and reviews music and films for *IN THESE TIMES*.

SAM RIVERS AND DAVE HOLLAND, VOLS. 1 & 2
(Improvising Artists, Inc.)

Sam Rivers, an ageless black man, originally from Oklahoma, and Dave Holland, a young Englishman, have combined forces to present us with some of the most soul-searching music in recent jazz history. Both are virtuosos, and the duets on these two records represent the meshing of two artists in complete sympathy with each other's musical ideas.

Both volumes offer a healthy sampling of the multi-faceted Rivers, who plays a different instrument on each side. On Volume 1, he appears on tenor and soprano saxophone, and on Volume 2, he can be heard on flute and piano. Dave Holland's instruments are acoustic bass and cello. Each duet is totally improvised. The musicians bounce back and forth off of each other's musical energies without the straight-jacket of formulated charts. The result is a unique experience for both artist and listener.

Rivers' role in creative music extends beyond his own performances. As the guiding light of Studio Rivbea, an artist's loft located in lower Manhattan, he has showcased the talents of many young musicians playing what they refer to as "new black



George Benson, as an inferior Stevie Wonder.

music." In this sense the New York City loft jazz scene represents an alternative to the usual nightclub arrangement in which many musicians feel increasingly restrained and uncomfortable.

While Rivers is certainly in the vanguard of the "new black music," he does not see it as a departure from the roots of jazz. As he says in the liner notes to a recent re-release of some of his early Blue Note sides, "The way I see it, the music of the '70s should be a fusion of the '40s, '50s and '60s."

Don't let the word "fusion" fool you. Rivers' music is not the much-publicized "fusion music" that typically amounts to nothing more than watered-down jazz/rock schlock. Even his recent "crossover" album *Sizzle* simply refuses to cross over in the negative sense of having the music prepackaged and treated as a commodity for the current market. It is a solid "cookin'" album all the way through.

Holland paid his dues on electric bass during his stint with the Miles Davis band from 1968 to 1971, but his forte is acoustic bass. His sound in these albums is full and well-seasoned, and

his arco work is often intense.

While the duets under review offer us high energy music, it should be pointed out that both men are quiet and gentle in person. Consequently their music has both reflective moments and moments of creative fire.

Rivers and Holland are both totally immersed in the moment, an approach that frees creative spontaneity and brings about sudden changes in direction and mood that ultimately blend to form a free-form tapestry of sound. This shared approach to the creation of music is one reason the styles of Rivers and Holland complement each other so well despite their diverse backgrounds.

The producer of the album, Paul Bley, a pianist himself, has allowed them to experiment fully. Improvising Artists, Inc., is Bley's label and seems deeply committed to featuring such music in a setting that does not compromise its integrity.

—Ron Sakolsky

Ron Sakolsky teaches at Sangamon State University in Illinois and regularly reviews jazz for *IN THESE TIMES*.



Sam Rivers, a multi-faceted talent.

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MOVIES

Funny, sad, exciting film for the family

CASEY'S SHADOW

Screenplay by Carol Sobieski
from a story by John McPhee
Directed by Martin Ritt
Starring Walter Matthau, Alexis Smith, Robert Webber and Murray Hamilton
Columbia Pictures, Rated PG

There are rumors of an impending remake of *National Velvet*, with Tatum O'Neal playing the role that made Elizabeth Taylor a star before she was nubile. The ingredients—a child, a horse and a great race—are as failure-proof as Lincoln, a doctor and a dog, so there will doubtless be a Second Coming of the girl steeple-chaser.

But while we are waiting, there is *Casey's Shadow* to keep fami-

lies together in the movie house this spring.

The ingredients are basically the same. The child in this case is a motherless boy (played by Michael Hersheve); the horse is a motherless colt (sired by semen stolen from the top stud of a lady millionaire's stable); the race is the All-American Futurity, which is run every Labor Day at Ruidoso Downs in northern New Mexico.

Actually the leading role is neither the child's or the horse's. Walter Matthau plays a Cajun horse trainer who is bringing up three sons and boarding other men's horses. The central problem of scenario is his: shall he reach for the once-in-a-lifetime chance of getting his name in the

record books "as an old cowboy with just one horse" who wins the big race of two-year-olds, even if it damages the Shadow's young legs and his sale value on the market?

Matthau is at his bumbling best, but what brings the character alive is the freshness of the script. Despite all the plot clichés, the story has grappling power because the relationships between the people in it are so honest and so unusual (at least on film). The Bourdelle family is not another "My Three Sons"; it is a believ-

able, complex interaction of four males of different ages and temperaments.

And the relationship between the Matthau character and the black owner of the colt—underplayed as it is—almost makes you believe we have integrated two walks of American life: horsebreeding in Louisiana and filmmaking in California.

We took a pair of eight-year-olds to *Casey's Shadow*. Excerpts from their reviews follow:

"It was a funny and sad movie. It would be a good experience for

young horse lovers for them to find out what sometimes happens and what people do to them. The actors were good, especially Casey and his father. The best part was when Casey's Shadow is born. [There is an astonishing documentary delivery scene.] Two very sad parts were when Shadow's mother died and then when Gipsy [Casey's pony, the colt's adopted mother] died. It was also very exciting." Very!

—Jessica Reichert, Leigh Moran, and Janet Stevenson



Walter Matthau as Casey's father and Harry Caesar as Shadow's owner.

One more helpless heroine

THE LACEMAKER

Written by Claude Goretta and Pascal Laine
Directed by Claude Goretta
With Isabelle Huppert, Yves Beneyton, Florence Giorgetti

The Lacemaker is a lot like its title commodity: pretty to look at, but full of holes.

Subtitled "A Love Story," the film follows a young woman through the emotional gamut of her first affair—an affair you know is bound to end badly from the moment she is introduced.

The girl, Pomme, is a hair-washer in a Paris beauty salon; a quiet, demurring type who lives with her mother and answers questions with a smile or a stare.

She goes on vacation to the Normandy coast with a friend who quickly picks up an available male, leaving Pomme to wander the waterfront on her own. Her solo meanderings bring about an acquaintance with a self-described "brilliant student of literature" named Francois. After the get-acquainted niceties, he drills her mercilessly about her virginity, and finally persuades her to surrender it.

Pomme and Francois go back to the city and set up housekeeping, where she proves herself to be the perfect little helpmate, afraid to so much as bite too hard into an apple lest the crunch disturb his studies. It soon becomes clear that Pomme's lack of drive

to "better" herself (in his terms) makes her increasingly unattractive to him.

Francois' terms aren't those of a bourgeois student, but of a leftist intellectual whose idea of a good time is to sit around with a pack of armchair radicals slinging around Marxist theories about the working class in words that the only worker among them cannot understand. Pomme smiles politely, but Francois can't bring himself to even try to explain to her what "dialectic" means.

Goretta may have hoped that these conversations would raise the film above a typical doomed love story by placing it in a political context with Pomme as a victim of society, but the attempt

fails for two reasons. Pomme is not a "typically" passive female. She is passive to a degree that borders on zombie-ism. Second, she has no connections to other female characters in the film insofar as their common predicaments are concerned. Only once does one of the women speak up on her behalf, telling Francois that he treated her like "an employee—you hired her and fired her." (Francois eventually informs her that he is bored with her.) But the political asides do not really serve to add a broader perspective.

Isabelle Huppert turns in a sensitive performance as Pomme. Her lines in the film are sparse, so she relies mainly on her pretty face to do the acting. There are lots of shots, having nothing to do with causal necessity, that take advantage of her comely features, but you can have only so many

scenes of Pomme roaming the beach before you get *deja vu*.

As the boyfriend, Yves Beneyton is a convincingly disgusting customer, a tight-lipped anal retentive who plays the sensitive-student-who-is-really-a-self-pitying-boor very well. Florence Giorgetti adds a few bright moments to the story as the bubbly, well-meaning but fickle friend.

Despite the pretensions to political overtones, however, there's something distasteful about a film that so heavily underscores fragile beauty and powerlessness in its female characters.

If, as the epilog suggests, her delicate appearance and manner would have inspired a "genre" painting 100 years ago, her self-deprecating and martyr-like personality would be more appropriate in that climate. For now, we can do without one more helpless heroine. —P. Hertel

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BOOKS

DISPATCHES

By Michael Herr
Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., \$8.95

For 18 months, between early 1967 and September 1968, Michael Herr covered Vietnam on a free-lance basis for *Esquire*. Unlike the reporters working for the dailies or weeklies, Herr didn't have to draw his Vietnam stories from briefings with the majors and the generals, or from the "cheer crazed language of the MACV information office." Instead, where Herr spent his time, and where his loyalties lay, was with the men who did the fighting—the killing and the dying—and who complained that their war wasn't getting into the papers. *Dispatches* is based on this experience.

Herr liked the marines and the enlisted men who spent their time in the swamps or highlands of Vietnam, far from Saigon. He loved the culture they created for each other. And he loved the war. Not the fact of it—which is what makes the book complicated, wonderful, and a little crazy.

For Herr, the war was a giant, monstrous mistake that never should have been undertaken, and that, having begun, continued to follow a crazed route having less and less to do with the possible. (Here is Herr on Westmoreland: "He'd noticed that I was accredited to *Esquire* and asked me if I planned to be doing 'humoristical' pieces. Beyond that very little was really said. I came away feeling as though I'd just had a conversation with a man who touches a chair and says, 'This is a chair,' points to a desk and says, 'This is a desk.' I couldn't think of anything to ask him, and the interview didn't happen.")

Yet out on the front, Herr loved the war. He loved the vitality of it, the excitement, the simplicity and far out heightened life of it (so close to death), the

War through the eyes of the media men

glamour—yes, the glamour. "It was the happy childhood we never had."

Vietnam appears to have been a war in which correspondents and military men alike had trouble keeping hold of the reality they were living. Their minds kept slipping into that larger-than-life western or war movie in which they were playing John Wayne. Everywhere cassettes played out the music of the '60s. TV cameras, reporters, and photographers followed every action. One photographer liked to be at the lead. "Life-as-movie, war-as-(war) movie, war-as-life," says Herr, describing his own path through Vietnam.

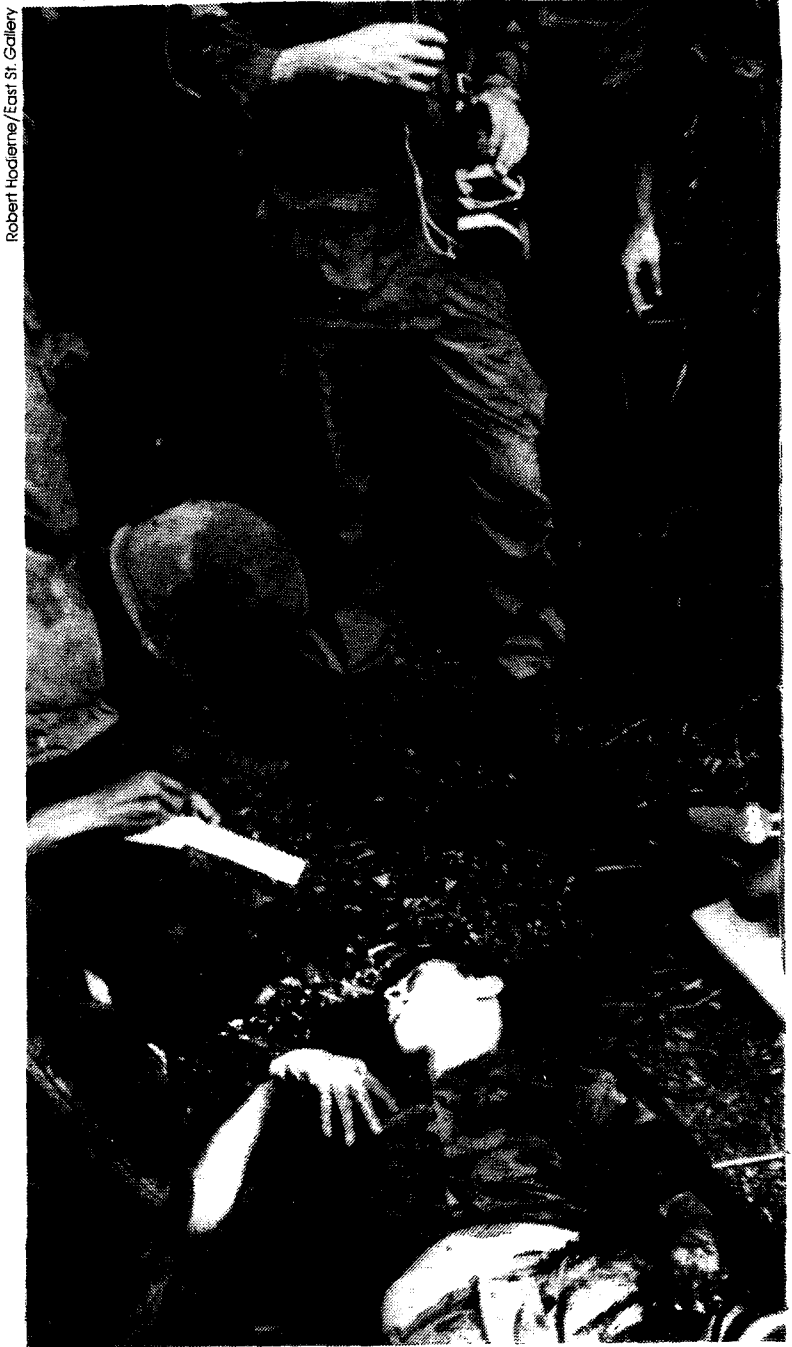
Once by chance Herr and five other correspondents ended up at the same place. The commander got very excited. Six correspondents! He was going to stage a real war for them! But the media mentality affected the enlisted men too:

"I keep thinking about all the kids who got wiped out by 17 years of war movies before coming to Vietnam to get wiped out for good. You don't know what a media freak is until you've seen the way a few of those grunts would run around during a fight when they knew there was a television crew nearby; they were actually making war movies in their heads, doing little guts-and-glory

He liked marines and enlisted men, the culture they created, and he liked the war.

Leatherneck tap dances under fire, getting their pimples shot off for the networks. They were insane, but the war hadn't done that to them.... We'd all seen too many movies, stayed too long in Television City, years of media glut had made certain connections difficult."

Life-as-movie? War-as-(war) movie? War-as-life? There is a story in *Dispatches* of Herr picking up his own weapon when the troops he was with were being shelled. In fact, according to him, correspondents quickly learned to carry their own weapons. They had to. So men like Herr, who were against the war, were driven by a combination of self-defense and commonality with the troops they were observing to join in the action and themselves become killers. I suppose it is that fine line that kept blurring that made the war so exciting. And, of course, morally crazy, impossible.



Correspondents get their story from a dying Viet Cong.

Like a lot of great war movies, *Dispatches* ends up being a little pro-war. According to Herr, "It seemed the least of the war's contradictions that to lose your worst sense of American shame, you had to leave the Dial Soapers in Saigon and a hundred headquarters who spoke goodworks and killed nobody themselves, and go out to the grungy men in the jungle who talked bloody murder

and killed people all the time." Maybe living with the possibility of death makes the questions of war for the moment simple. And maybe the details of war have to be wonderful in a crazed "Heart of Darkness" way when they are transformed into art. Herr's book raises these questions and offers a powerful insight into a Vietnam that most of us never knew. —Carol Lopate

What lit up the lives of the Old American Left

THE ROMANCE OF AMERICAN COMMUNISM

By Vivian Gornick
New York, Basic Books, 1977,
365 pp., \$10.00

Eric Hobsbawm, the British historian, once commented that the study of communist movements had been restricted to members of two schools, the sectarian and the witch-hunting. Only in the past decade has a third, more dispassionate interpretation begun to emerge.

This new look at the history of the American Communist party rests largely on recently published memoirs of former Communists, including those by George Charney, Al Richmond, Jessica Mitford and Peggy Dennis. The value of these books is that they help strip away both the heroic myths and the paranoid fears that have previously surrounded the commitment to communism. Individual Communists may have displayed their full share of human weaknesses, and the movement as a whole certainly nurtured some fundamental misconceptions about the nature of both American and Soviet society. Nevertheless, these books make it understandable how ordinary people could believe, however mistakenly that the party represented a practical tool with

which to reach realizable goals.

Vivian Gornick, a columnist for the *Village Voice*, who grew up in a Communist household in the Bronx, spent a year traveling around the country interviewing former members of the Communist party. She presents the results of 40-odd interviews in *The Romance of American Communism*, hoping to reveal the "vast, sprawling, fragmented, intensely various experience" of American communism. When she lets her subjects speak for themselves, these results can be impressive.

One of the best and most extensive of her interviews is with a man she calls "Eric Lanzetti," a Communist organizer from New York's Lower East Side. In the late '30s when the party had 3,000 members there. As he recalls: "No matter what happened politically in the '30s, on the Lower East Side everyone always wanted to know what the Communists were doing and thinking, what their analysis was. Even when they hated us, we were still their own.... I'll never forget, one night I was handing out leaflets in front of the subway on Delancy Street. An old Jewish woman came up out of the subway—old, tired, her legs swollen, two shopping bags in her hands. When she saw me her

face changed from tired to angry. She began to curse me in Yiddish. I didn't understand all the words, but I got the message.

"I just stood there, looking at her. I didn't say a word. She started to walk away. Then she turned back. It was a bitter night, cold and windy. All I had on was a thin jacket. The old woman came toward me, pulling a scarf from around her neck. 'Bubbela,' she said, 'what are you doing, dressed like that on a night like this? You'll get pneumonia.' And she wound the scarf around my neck."

Anecdotes of this caliber are rare, but the people Gornick interviewed shed light on many different areas of the party's activities and history. Unfortunately, she does not often let her subjects speak for themselves. She has a thesis about the Communists' "passion" that she wants to prove. "Each and every one of them," she writes, "experienced a kind of inner radiance: some intensity of illumination that tore at the soul.... The ideology set in motion the most intense longings, longings buried in the unknowing self, longings that pierced to the mysterious, vulnerable heart at the center of that incoherent life within us, longings that had to do with the need to live a life of meaning."

So much passion, she argues, can have only one end: "The law of passion is such that it is all; and when a thing becomes all, people do terrible things to themselves and to one another." Communism became a "bitterness of vision evaporating into dogma: the growing self disintegrating into the stifled self."

Gornick says she was much abused by the more orthodox party veterans she interviewed when she described her theses—not surprisingly, since a good many former Communists would have a hard time recognizing their past from her description.

There is nothing wrong with using a literary metaphor to describe an historical experience, providing the historical record can substantiate it. Gornick uses no evidence other than interviews. In oral interviews the historian can shape the data, however unconsciously, to fit almost any thesis. The subject may be flattered by the attention and anxious to say what will please. The interview can focus on one aspect of an experience and lift it to a position all out of proportion to its importance. The same person talking to two different interviewers is capable of describing an experience in two very different ways without conscious distortion. Interviews must be balanced against other evidence before they can carry the kind of weight Gornick has assigned them.

Throughout the book Gornick interprets the lives of the people she interviews on slim evidence.

her interview with "Max Bitterman," one of the more sensitive and creative party figures. She spent three days at Bitterman's home, trying unsuccessfully to get the interview he had promised her. She finds a "madly virulent" and "self-absorbed creature," drained of any emotion but hatred in the aftermath of his disillusionment with communism, judging his whole life by the evidence she gathers in a brief interlude at its end.

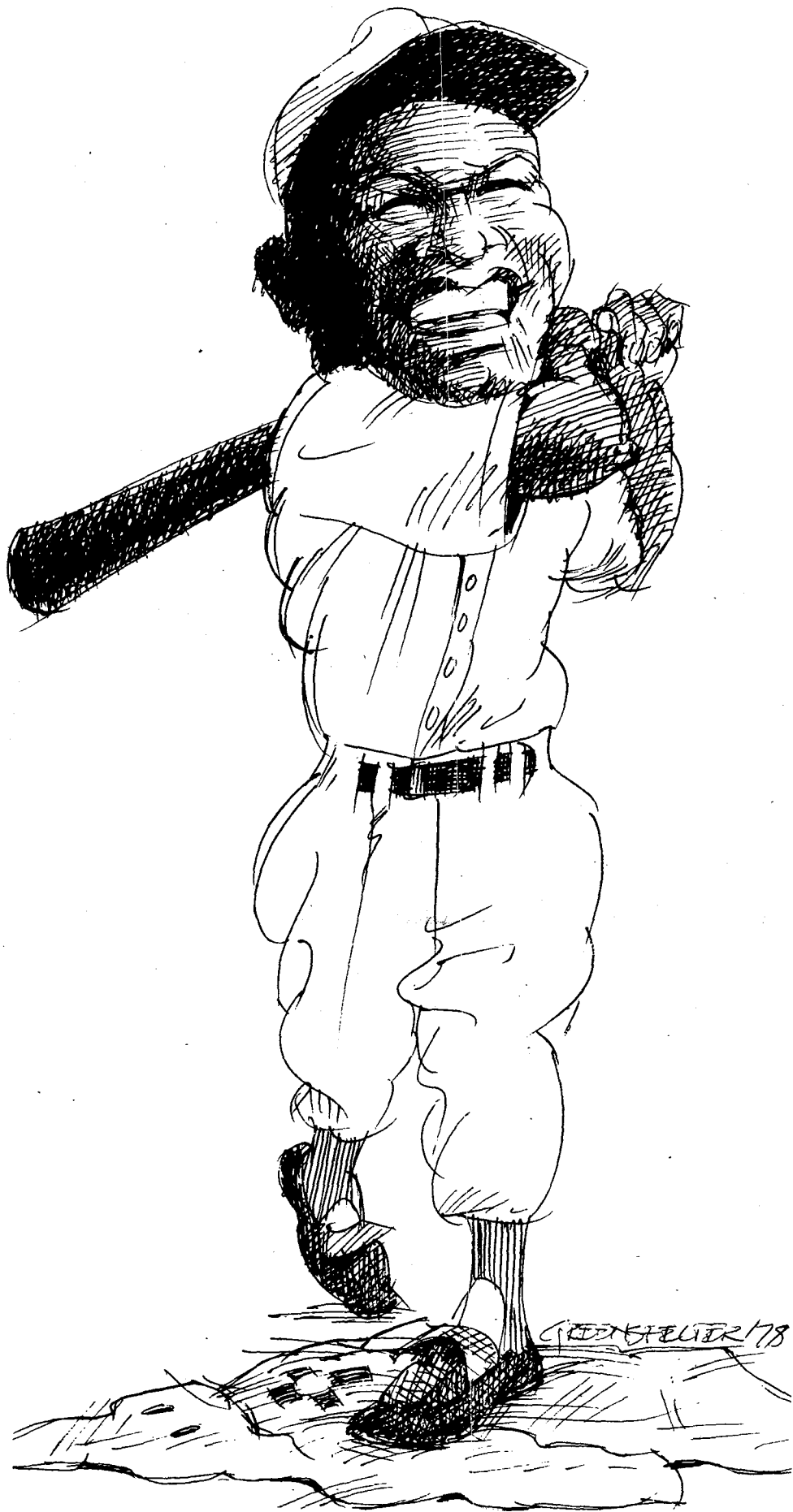
Gornick does mention that Bitterman had recently experienced the shock of his son's suicide, but does not mention that he was on the brink of the fatal illness that brought his death in the fall of 1976. If one is to play God with other people's lives, one should at least give the poor sinners a chance to present their own side of the story.

The Romance of American Communism could have been a good book. The subject is important; Gornick writes well; and the time is right for the kind of re-examination she proposes to undertake. Unfortunately she ends up developing a set of stereotypes of the Communist experience as flat and unconvincing as those churned out by the sectarian and witch-hunting schools of communist historiography.

—Maurice Isserman

Maurice Isserman is a graduate student at the University of Rochester writing a dissertation on the American Communist party during World War II.

FAIR IS FAIR AND FOUL IS FOUL



Illustration/Tom Greenfelder

**ATLANTA, 1949.
JACKIE ROBINSON
EMERGES FROM
THE DUGOUT.
BLACKS CHEER,
WHITES BOO. BUT
THEN OTHER
WHITES BEGIN
TO CLAP...**

BY LESTER RODNEY

"THE UNREPENTANT JOY OF BASEBALL" by Marc Gunther a while back in *IN THESE TIMES* (Oct. 19, 1977) was a lovely piece. Anyone who ever hurried up a ramp in a big league ballpark can identify with it.

However, Gunther's separation of "in here," the baseball world-unto-itself, and "out there," the real world, can use a little P.S. to place it accurately into the American scene.

I know what he's talking about. Baseball, with its graceful and unhurried equity, where lines are drawn for all to see, fair is fair and foul is foul, where no clock can run out until each side has had its full opportunities at bat, this indeed is a pleasant world apart.

But, interestingly, this very quality of built-in fairness has brought the "in here" and "out there" into dramatic interplay in our not-so-distant history.

It is the spring of 1949, two years af-

ter big league baseball's discrimination against black players has been ended. The team that did it, the Brooklyn Dodgers, heading homeward after spring training, stops off in Atlanta for an exhibition game with the Atlanta Crackers of the minor league Southern Association.

It will be Georgia's first interracial game and there is some tension. The "grand dragon" of the state Klan issues a statement: the game cannot be tolerated. (When the Dodgers arrive in Atlanta one of the white players nudges the ground with his toe, peers down, as in looking under a rock, and asks ingenuously, "Where's the dragon?")

Black folks have been coming into town all day from outlying towns and the countryside. The small segregated stands fill quickly. Rather than turn away those clamoring to get in, cash in hand, the management allows an overflow to pour into the field behind hastily erected rope barriers along the walls. Some blacks climb and cling to the terraced right field fence.

When Jackie Robinson emerges from the visiting dugout for pre-game practice (Roy Campanella and Don Newcombe are also members of this team, which is to win the pennant, with Robinson the league's "Most Valuable"), there is a deep roar of greeting from the sea of black fans. This touches off booing from the white stands.

And then a third thing happens. Others in the white stands begin to clap, and a few stand up while clapping, as if to dissociate themselves more clearly from the booers. After a minute or so perhaps as many as a third of the white fans are standing and clapping.

Imagine, if you can, in the largely bygone South of 29 years ago, the electricity of this tumultuous sequence, concentrated under the fairyland night lights in the "in here" confines of the old Atlanta Ballpark.

Head-on conflict.

Who were the whites who stood and clapped? Southern liberals, Ralph McGill, Lillian Carter types and previously hidden progressives? Not likely in those numbers.

They were Southern baseball fans. They didn't see a blinding light and wake up the next morning completely changed, ready to fight against white supremacy. They were Southerners weaned on sports as well as racism, caught in a confused show-and-tell moment in which one conflicted head on with the other.

This was happening inside the ballpark. They were looking down at baseball players on the familiar field with its fair play chalk lines. The guys in visiting gray hadn't had their licks yet. What's more, they were that epitome of daydream fantasy, Big Leaguers. Sixteen teams, 25 on each roster, only 400 of the millions who dream the dream they could be big leaguers at any given time.

Momentary, instinctive, shallow—any or all of these. Yet who can finally dare measure the meaning of such a moment, when white Southerners in the midst of a bedlam of sounds pulled themselves to their feet to repudiate the booing of big league baseball players whose skin happened to be black? Who could say that baseball had nothing to do with the 9-0 Supreme Court decision ruling segregated schools unconstitutional?

When I asked that question of Roy Campanella in 1954, the Dodger catcher gave his own opinion that baseball was the most important groundbreaker.

"All I know," said Roy, "is that the ballclubs going down there and traveling together and playing together and after a while staying together in hotels were the first—all the time. When you look at it, baseball was the teacher of democracy there."

One needn't agree that baseball was the most important factor in what changes for the better have occurred in the South. Certainly one need not claim that baseball did the job alone, or that the job is anywhere near completed, or even that there is no more discrimination in sports—any more than one could say that the Supreme Court decision meant that the school fight was won. But at least an equal

miscalculation would be to think that baseball, that unique American institution, had nothing to do with the case.

City after city goes down.

City after city in the South became the scene of such exhibition games, forerunners of the next step—black players on Southern teams too. Now it was the Cleveland Indians, Chicago White Sox, New York Giants and Boston Braves as well as the Dodgers. Never in Memphis, they said, never in New Orleans, never in Mobile, never in Shreveport. All these cities saw the moment when the umpire called "Play Ball" and black and white took the field at one and the same time.

There is much meaningful drama in American life that is never taught in schools. Take a couple of events in one city, Jacksonville, Florida.

1946. The Dodgers, still all white, arrive at the ballpark for the scheduled annual Jacksonville exhibition game with their Montreal minor league affiliate. Ah, but in 1946 Montreal has a rookie named Jackie Robinson, one year away from quite literally changing the complexion of big league baseball. The ballpark gates are locked. No game. The Jacksonville city fathers have forbidden and canceled it.

Jacksonville, seven years and some months later. Same ballpark. Packed stands cheering, city fathers beaming. A young man at home plate is receiving a trophy as most valuable player in the Sally League (which includes such cities as Savannah, Montgomery, Macon, Columbus, Augusta). The young man, with "Jacksonville" sewn across the chest of his uniform, is Henry Aaron. His skin is coal black.

Or Shreveport, La., 1952. Pitcher Dave Hoskins, first black in the Texas League, of which Shreveport is a member, is due to pitch there for the first time. He gets three mailed threats to shoot him dead if he steps onto the pitching mound. Hoskins, a former auto worker out of Flint, Mich., determined to make the big leagues, doesn't show the letters to anyone because he wants to pitch.

"There was a law they were trying to pass in the Louisiana State Legislature," he told me the following year when he pitched for the Cleveland Indians. "It was just because of me being in the league, and it would forbid me to play in Shreveport."

There was quite a lot of booing at the start of that Shreveport game, he recalled and some clapping.

"By the third time I came to bat the cheering was drowning out the booing. The place was real noisy. We won the game, 3-2. The week after that they dropped that bill. I figured the way the fans acted had something to do with it."

Unequal equality.

Back to 1947, Robinson's pioneering year. (There must be 30-year-olds born on that cloudy April opening day to whom all-white baseball belongs with prohibition, suffragettes and the depression. They know such things once existed, but why bring up that ancient history?)

It is an intensely lonely year for Jackie. Swinging around the all-white circuit at Philly, Boston, New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis, he wryly tells fans "You'll be able to tell me by my number, 42."

Making it worse, he is pledged by Brooklyn owner Branch Rickey to an on-field meekness totally alien to his competitive, voluble nature. There are nasty little incidents. Crossing first base, where Robinson plays this year, Enos Slaughter of the Cardinals seems to veer and comes down hard on Jackie's heel. After a routine Robinson slide into second base, an otherwise little-to-be-remembered Chicago Cub named Lennie Merullo bravely jumps on Jackie and starts pummeling him.

In the Brooklyn dugout before a game I hear a few white players talking earnestly about it, like this: Well, democracy means everybody is equal and you treat everybody the same, so it's wrong for us to do anything special about Jackie (Are the Bakke case arguments really that new?) Shortstop Peewee Reese (from

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